United Nations S/PV.3341

Security Council

Provisional

Forty-ninth Year

3341st Meeting
Tuesday, 1 March 1994, 6 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(*France*)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. van Bohemen
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Khan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lozinskiy
	Rwanda	Mr. Abimana
	Spain	Mr. Pedauye
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Wood
	United States of America	Mr. Boardman

94-85227 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 6.10 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President *(interpretation from French):* As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of March, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Roble Olhaye, Permanent Representative of Djibouti to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of February 1994. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Olhaye for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories

Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/222)

Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/223)

The President *(interpretation from French):* In accordance with the decisions taken at the 3340th meeting, I invite the representative of Israel to take a place at the Council table; I invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Egypt, Greece, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Qatar, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Yaacobi (Israel) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan), Mr. Lamamra (Algeria), Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Exarchos (Greece), Mr. Nasier (Indonesia), Mr. Khoshroo (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Bataineh (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Makkawi (Lebanon), Mr. Elhouderi (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Al-Ni'mah (Qatar), Mr. Yassin (Sudan), Mr. Awad (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia), Mr. Batu (Turkey) and Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bahrain, Bangladesh, Japan, Mauritania and Ukraine in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Faihani (Bahrain), Mr. Majid (Bangladesh), Mr. Motomura (Japan), Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud (Mauritania) and Mr. Khandogy (Ukraine) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 1 March 1994 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which reads as follows:

> "In my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I have the honour to request that I be invited to participate in the debate on the agenda item 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories', under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council."

On previous occasions, the Security Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on the agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/231, which contains the text of a letter dated 28 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of a declaration of the European Union.

Members of the Council have also received photocopies of a letter dated 28 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as document S/1994/236.

The first speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan) *(interpretation from French):* As the first speaker as you begin your presidency of the Security Council on this first day of March, I should also like, Sir, to be the first to congratulate you. The Council now has to decide on some most serious and complex issues, and we have every confidence in your abilities as an experienced diplomat and in your wealth of knowledge of these issues to enable you to guide the work of the Council to a successful conclusion.

With the deepest pain and great indignation, the entire world has condemned the massacre committed in Al-Khalil, or Hebron, before sunrise on Friday, 25 February, the fifteenth day of Ramadan, the month of fasting. We are here first and foremost to raise our voices in echo of the voices of vast numbers of human beings.

It should be clearly understood that in occupied Palestinian territory those armed by the occupier are shooting not only adolescents who throw stones at the jeeps of the occupying army, but also those who fast, as Abraham and Moses fasted, and those who prostrate themselves before God, the common God of the three Abrahamic religions.

Hebron is called Al-Khalil by Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims throughout the world, and Al-Khalil means "close friend". Why "close friend"? Because that is where the tomb of Abraham is found. Consulting the Koran, we find that Sura 4, verse 125 - which I wish to quote in English, as well as in French, and also in Arabic, which is now an official language of the United Nations - says:

"For God did take
Abraham for a friend."

The same verse states that every believer should follow the religion of Abraham - "*millat Ibrahim*" - the religion of a *hanif*, that is, of an upright person. For Muslims, Abraham is the spiritual patriarch of all the sincere believers of mankind - "*al-nas*" - as is stated in the last verse of Sura 22 of the Holy Book of Islam, a Book where the name of Abraham is mentioned 70 times.

This is why the *haram* - the precinct of this place of Islamic pilgrimage in the city of Al-Khalil, the precinct that was desecrated at dawn on Friday by a terrorist with the infidel's heart in a massacre of believers who had already begun their fast and were prostrating themselves before the Lord of Abraham, who is also their Lord - is the most sacred site in Palestinian territory, after, obviously, the Haram al-Sharif, which is the holy precinct of the city of Al-Quds, or Jerusalem.

It might be said that the points I have just made are religious points. But even lay people, whose way of life is prevalent here at the United Nations, will find in them certain socio-political facts of great importance.

Numerically speaking, the abominable massacre of 25 February set a record. Historically speaking, this is not the first time we have condemned such an occurrence. Indeed, three and a half years ago, on 8 October 1990, in the Haram al-Sharif, this holy sanctuary of the city of Al-Quds, or Jerusalem, violence committed by the Israeli security forces left more than 20 dead and more than 150 wounded among Palestinian civilians who were in the act of praying. Security Council resolution 672 (1990) called upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by its legal obligations and responsibilities upon under the Fourth Geneva Convention, applicable to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967 - including, clearly, Jerusalem.

However, for a quarter of a century now, Israeli propaganda has generally tried to suggest to the inhabitants of settlements that they were living in territory that belonged to them. This unofficial attitude of the Israeli authorities prepared the ground for ideological indoctrination that runs counter to the whole purpose of the peace process now under way. Since the Palestinian civil population has been living in the same

territories for centuries, those preaching hate for the peace process were able to gain tremendous influence, particularly in the settlements, which were set up under military occupation.

It is therefore important, first and foremost, for anyone trying to promote the continuation of the peace process to disarm ideologically the fundamentalist extremists in these settlements and to convince them that the land on which they have been installing themselves since 1967 is occupied temporarily and unjustly. It belongs, in fact, to the Palestinians, who have been living there for many centuries.

Anyone who strives for peace while insisting on maintaining settlements in territory occupied militarily, and who supports the settlers and their actions by means of armed force will never achieve his goals of peace. This is the lesson that we learned from the end of colonialism in the twentieth century, and it is also the lesson of thousands of years of the history of nations.

In our century, in this age of automatic weapons, instruments that make it possible to kill a whole crowd of human beings in a few seconds, it is important to start by disarming these settlers, whether or not they be psychopaths or lunatics.

For the moment, the massacre at dawn on Friday has profoundly harmed not only the Palestinians but also the credibility of the peace process. For the future, these settlements are centres for terrorists and have been rightly called time bombs that could destroy the entire peace effort.

The massacre of 25 February has demonstrated irrefutably that the peace process is totally incompatible with the actions of the armed occupation forces of armed settlers, whether or not they wear the uniform of Israeli reservists. Let us recall that this point has already been made. In paragraph 4 of resolution 681 (1990), of 20 December 1990, the Israeli Government is called upon to accept the *de jure* applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967 and to abide scrupulously by the provisions of that Convention.

Furthermore, it is an actual fact that the settlers, armed not only with automatic weapons but also with certain political plans, are working under the benevolent and complaisant gaze of the occupying army. I say "political plans" because among these settlers there are certain centres of hatred. Consequently, there is a potential for sabotage of the entire Palestinian-Israeli peace process.

The acts of these settlers in particular and the occupation security forces in general are contrary to the principles clearly enunciated by the current Government of Israel, and hence to the Oslo negotiations of August 1993 and the Washington Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993.

The need to protect the Palestinian civilians in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds (Jerusalem), not only is based on international law but is also required and made imperative by a practical and concrete situation which the Government of Israel should recognize as being of prime importance.

What is the solution to all this? Three consecutive stages can be clearly envisaged.

First, the extremists, the fundamentalists, among the settlers must be disarmed immediately.

Secondly, the rest of the settlers must be disarmed immediately thereafter.

Thirdly - that is, in a subsequent stage - there must be an accelerated dismantling of the Israeli settlements in all the occupied Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds (Jerusalem). This might, of course, require the building of housing within Israel to which these settlers can be transferred. The ways and means of carrying out such a plan would be part of the peace negotiations.

At the same time, international protection of the Palestinian civilian population is clearly necessary. The duration of such protection will be a function of the success of the peace process - the quicker that process is completed, the shorter will be the time needed for such protection. This international protection would be a positive factor, militating in favour of satisfactory progress in the peace process.

In conclusion, an overwhelming consequence for the prospects for peace would seem to be the need to revise fundamentally the agenda for the ongoing peace negotiations - particularly to reorder the priorities radically. The most urgent priority now is clearly the need to afford protection to the Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories. All the parties involved, including the United Nations, must deal with this. It is a new chapter in the book concerning respect for the

inalienable rights of the Palestinian people - first and foremost their right to live and to survive, and then their right to independence.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Afghanistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) *(interpretation from Arabic):* I should like to begin by expressing to you, Sir, the congratulations of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are certain that your diplomatic skills and your experience will contribute to the Council's achievement of positive results.

I have the honour also of expressing our appreciation and paying a tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the sister country of Djibouti, for the efficient and able way in which he presided over the Council's deliberations last month.

I wish also to express to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Council our thanks and appreciation for having convened the Council and for giving us the opportunity of addressing it.

We were shocked, indeed stunned, by the magnitude of the tragedy that befell our Palestinian brothers as a result of the heinous carnage perpetrated by an evil, criminal Israeli hand against persons praying at Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi at dawn on Friday, 25 February 1994. The people and the Government of the United Arab Emirates have condemned in the strongest possible terms this criminal massacre that took a toll of more than 50 martyrs and resulted in the wounding of hundreds of other Palestinians.

Since this massacre took place, many Palestinians have been killed or wounded by Israeli military forces. Their only crime was that they were expressing their indignation at this heinous act perpetrated against their kith and kin in Al-Khalil. Their only crime was that they were demanding that an end be put to the Israeli occupation of their homeland and that they be given an opportunity to exercise their inalienable, legitimate national rights, like all the other peoples of the world that have attained independence and rid themselves of the yoke of foreign occupation.

The criminal transgression against the sacred Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi and the murder of the Muslims praying there was a heinous crime, totally incompatible with the sanctity of the Holy Places which are held in such high esteem by all the divinely revealed religions. It was also a flagrant violation of international humanitarian law.

This bloody carnage cannot be regarded as an isolated event. It is linked with two similar events: the arson at the Holy Al Aqsa Mosque in El-Quds (Jerusalem) in 1969, and the killing of 20 persons and the wounding of hundreds of others at the Haram Al-Sharif in Jerusalem in 1990 by Israeli military forces, without any regard or respect for the fact that the Holy Places are sacred to millions of Muslims in the world.

Israel's record since its occupation of the Palestinian territories is replete with examples of the desecration of holy shrines. Anyone who analyzes these three crimes against Muslim places of worship will conclude that Israel is either unable or unwilling to provide adequate protection for the holy shrines and for those worshipping in them. Whatever the reason may be, that position is untenable.

The Israeli authorities take no measures to prevent extremist Israeli groups from perpetrating their terrorist crimes and acts of aggression against the Palestinian people. To the contrary, the Israeli authorities permit those groups and other settlers to carry weapons, on the pretext of self-defence. But all the evidence indicates that those weapons have been used only to attack unarmed Palestinian civilians.

Israel is attempting to shirk its responsibility for this carnage, on the pretext that the perpetrator was deranged. We reject that argument, both in form and in content. It was the Israeli authorities themselves who permitted him to carry weapons; it was they who permitted him to enter the mosque during prayers; they took no swift, effective action to stop the carnage. That proves that the Israeli authorities condone the crimes perpetrated by the settlers against the Palestinian people. Moreover, preliminary reports indicate that some Israeli soldiers actually participated in the murders.

The Israeli authorities confiscated Palestinian lands and have permitted the establishment of settlements on those lands. They have transferred tens of thousands of settlers from all over the world to live there, in total

contravention of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. That policy is in flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions declaring the settlements illegal, and of the norms of international conduct, the United Nations Charter and the rules of international law.

In the face of this situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, which is deteriorating owing to Israeli practices against the Palestinian civilian population, the international community, and in particular the Security Council, cannot continue to be a helpless spectator content with declarations of condemnation and resolutions of denunciation. It has the duty to take decisive steps to guarantee the security and safety of the Palestinian people.

Hence, the Government of the United Arab Emirates calls upon the international community, and especially the Security Council, fully to shoulder its responsibility under the Charter and under the rules and norms of international law by adopting an unambiguous decision to protect the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif. It must also seek the implementation of Security Council resolution 681 (1990) and appoint an international commission to investigate the circumstances under which the carnage was perpetrated in Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi in Al-Khalil, taking whatever steps are required to enable that commission to discharge its mandate.

Recent statements by Israel regarding its intention to disarm some settlers are not enough to prevent the repetition of such crimes and carnage against the Palestinian people. We therefore consider it important - indeed, necessary - that all settlers without exception be disarmed. That measure must be implemented in the context of a policy leading to the dismantling of existing settlements and the return of the settlers to Israel, in conformity with Security Council resolution 465 (1980), paragraph 6 of which calls for the dismantling of existing settlements.

That is the right approach for the Israeli authorities to take if they are indeed seriously interested in achieving a just, comprehensive, peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the question of Palestine.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of the United Arab Emirates for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Elhouderi *(Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic):* Let me begin, Sir, by saying how pleased I am to see you presiding over the work of the Security Council for this month, which coincides with the holy month of Ramadan. It is a time when the holy places are filled and Muslims - their faces glowing with a sense of trust and serenity - seek, through prayer, fasting and good works, to come closer to God.

I am sure, Sir, that your ability and diplomatic skill will enable the Council to do a remarkable job in the face of these tragic events.

I wish also to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Olhaye of Djibouti, who guided the work of the Council last month with great skill.

The events the Council is considering today constitute a crime of collective extermination that in a brief moment resulted in 60 deaths and some 300 injuries among Palestinians. A Zionist gang led by an extremist American Jew committed this crime. This gang is motivated by the hatred that infects their hearts so deeply that they are blind to the holiness of a House of God. This gang preyed upon the trust and serenity of the worshippers in order to overwhelm them with gunfire, and thus achieved their premeditated criminal aims.

Following the crime, the malevolent masters of propaganda announced that the crime had been committed by a single criminal. That constitutes an attempt to harbour criminals and save them from punishment, and to conceal the plans to terrorize and exterminate the Palestinian people. This propaganda reiterates that the criminal was a madman; we are accustomed to hearing such claims following each crime.

But the evidence shows that the perpetrators are part of a gang of the followers of Rabbi Meir Kahane, a terrorist, extremist Jew.

This gang has a long history of attacking places of worship. They were the ones who set fire to the holy mosque of Jerusalem in an attempt to blow it up. They are also the ones who attacked Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi several times in the past, opening fire on worshippers and stealing its historic wealth. If they are indeed madmen they should be kept in hospitals to prevent them from bringing about such suffering. Such horrible carnage could not have been brought about without premeditation and without protection from the Zionist

entity in occupied Palestine, because we know that Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi is under the protection of the Zionist army. Where was that army at the time this barbarous act was committed? The Zionist army did not remain idle: it opened fire on the Palestinians who had gathered in the courtyard of the local hospital in Hebron to give blood or to seek news of their loved ones. The Zionist entity could not commit such terrorist criminal acts without the moral and material support of the United States of America, which turns a blind eye to the Zionist entity's violations of human rights and, indeed, impedes efforts to bring it to heel. The United States is interested only in the continuation of the peace talks.

This was a premeditated and organized criminal act, carried out with sophisticated weapons. It was a flagrant, violent act of aggression that typifies what the Palestinians have to endure every day.

While the Zionist entity denounces these acts today, others remain silent and even join the funeral cortege of their victims. One may rightly wonder whether we are really on the road to peace, because, so far, that road leads only to the interests of the Zionist entity: To speak of peace and security is to speak of the peace and security enjoyed by that entity. But there is no security or peace for the Palestinian people. The Zionist entity, thanks to American support, is already enjoying the fruits of peace, even before peace has been established. There are agreements to provide American weapons. There are trade agreements to ensure the security of that State, whereas the Palestinian people only finds destruction, death and expulsion.

The Arab peoples in general and the children with stones in particular cannot believe in such a process; they cannot accept a peace based on inequality and oppression. The Arab peoples will support a just peace, one which is aimed at freeing Palestinian and occupied Arab territories from occupation and extremism so that Muslims, Christians and Jews may live together in a democratic State, as is possible today in South Africa. That is the only solution likely to bring about a just peace, and not these false and shameful initiatives.

The Security Council is today considering a flagrant act of aggression - a barbaric terrorist act which threatens international peace and security. The Security Council must shoulder its responsibilities with the same enthusiasm and determination it has shown in other cases which have been considered to be threats to international peace and security. The Council is therefore faced with a difficult test today. It has but two options open to it: to continue with the policy of double standards imposed by most of the permanent members, a policy which has brought about inequality and destroyed the Council's credibility or to shoulder its responsibility for safeguarding international peace and security by implementing the Charter of the United Nations.

The peace of the Palestinian people and its security are seriously endangered. Hence the Security Council is in duty bound to adopt forthwith the following measures to guarantee to that people its right to live in peace and security: firstly, the organization of an international enquiry within the framework of the Security Council to ascertain the identities of the perpetrators of the crime; secondly, protection of the Palestinians from attacks by settlers; thirdly, confiscation of the settlers' weapons and withdrawal of the Zionist army from Palestinian towns and villages; fourthly, the dismantlement of Zionist settlements, which are in fact citadels of terrorism and provocation.

If the Security Council fails to assume its responsibility with resolve and persists in its hypocritical policy, it will mean that Arab and Palestinian blood is cheap and does not merit the interest of the Council.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Lebanon. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Makkawi (Lebanon): Sir, allow me first to extend, on behalf of my delegation, sincerest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. In Lebanon, we are all well aware of your commitment to the cause of peace in the Middle East and are confident that the work of the Council will be conducted most efficiently under your wise and proven leadership.

I should also like to thank your predecessor, my brother and friend, the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Djibouti, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of February.

In addition, I avail myself of this opportunity to express Lebanon's deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his expeditious handling of this crisis, and for his wisdom in offering to dispatch United Nations

observers to the occupied Palestinian territories.

The whole world is stunned by the horrendous massacre at Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi in Al-Khalil, Hebron. This is the first time a man has entered a place of worship during the holy month of Ramadan and gunned down hundreds of people prostrated in prayer. Clearly, the root of this tragedy is the continuation of the Israeli occupation, the insidious growth of settlements and the sustained influx of Jewish fundamentalists into the occupied territories. Peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved when Palestinians are allotted only 20 per cent of their historic land and when that 20 per cent is traumatized by 144 illegal settlements within the Palestinian homeland.

These settlements are armed camps and hotbeds of extremism openly hostile to the indigenous population. The world was shocked this weekend to learn that some Jews in Israel and the occupied territories proudly associate themselves with the man who committed this macabre act. This sad truth is underscored by the fact that a thousand fundamentalists attended his funeral procession and by the rabbi who eulogized the murderer with the words that

> "One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail."

All of us would like to believe that this was the act of a lone, crazed gunman, but the fact remains that Baruch Goldstein was the product of a society and ideology supported by former Israeli Governments and funded by ultra-Zionist groups. Some 300 dead and wounded are hardly the work of one man, a fact which speaks of complicity in the crime.

The Government of Israel, despite its involvement in the Middle East peace process and its signing of the Declaration of Principles in Washington, has done nothing to discourage settlements or check extremist activity in the territories. Instead it has engaged in tactical manoeuvres aimed at postponing an Israeli troop withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho, such as its petty arguments over Palestinian troop sizes, border controls and Jericho's boundaries. Consequently, the 13 December deadline for withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho has come and gone with no substantive progress achieved.

Now, with the news of the massacre, Palestinians are finding that hope is giving way to anger and desperation. Since 1967 Israel, the occupying Power, has failed to provide protection for the civilian population under its occupation, as it is its obligation to do under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. Furthermore, with the growth of militant Judaism in the occupied lands, it is incumbent upon Israel to redouble its efforts to provide this protection. However, Israel's characteristic negligence and brutality is attested to by the fact that Israeli soldiers not only facilitated the massacre by allowing the gunman to enter the mosque, but were responsible for some of the deaths at the scene, as reported by the news media. And, as if this were not enough, soldiers have killed many demonstrators.

Lebanon knows what it is to suffer under the brutal policies and practices of occupation, because we have endured the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon for the past 16 years. Not a single day passes without the death of innocent civilians and the destruction of homes and property. None the less, the people of Lebanon are thoroughly convinced of the need for a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, which must encompass the Lebanese, Syrian, Jordanian and Palestinian tracks.

However, peace cannot prevail so long as the occupation continues, the settlements remain and Jewish extremists continue to threaten the security of Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. As has been echoed time and time here, the need for a just and equitable solution to the Palestinian problem is the root of the broader Arab-Israeli conflict. Such a solution is the only hope for stability in the region and for the triumph of moderation.

Peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved unless the Palestinians are granted their legitimate national rights and Israel withdraws from the Palestinian and Syrian territories in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and from southern Lebanon, in accordance with Security Council resolution 425 (1978).

The reality of the need for a comprehensive peace is demonstrated by the fact that the effects of the massacre have been felt throughout the Arab and Muslim worlds. In Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt demonstrators rallied vehemently against the massacre, casting a dark shadow over the peace process. The Governments of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan responded by suspending talks with Israel which had been scheduled for this week.

Also, in Lebanon, just two days after the

massacre, a bomb exploded during a church service, killing nine innocent worshippers and wounding more than 60 people. This proves that the forces which have tried over the years to destabilize Lebanon and undermine our unity and national reconciliation are behind this bombing, which they carried out in order to divert attention away from the massacre at Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi in Al-Khalil. However, they will not succeed. Lebanon is committed to the peace process and is strong enough to overcome this conspiracy. The Government and the people of Lebanon are standing firm to ensure that the tranquillity that has reigned in Lebanon for the last three years will continue. Furthermore, we will do everything in our power to bring the criminals to justice.

At this critical juncture the Government of Israel must make a decision upon which the fate of the Middle East peace process will depend: does it want peace enough to dismantle the illegal settlements and bring back 130,000 settlers to Israel proper, or does it want to jettison the whole peace process and face what is quickly becoming a rising and insurmountable wave of religious extremism? Israel's condemnation of the massacre is not enough. Nor are its promises to arrest, disarm and restrict the movement of a handful of extremists. These empty gestures will do little to affect the situation on the ground unless all settlers are disarmed. After all, if settlers in the territories have no confidence in Israeli military protection, then why should the Palestinians? Either allow all civilians in the territories to carry arms, or disarm them all.

I should like to conclude by saying that, in addition to the immediate disarming of settlers, what is urgently needed is for the Security Council to establish addressed to me.

There are a number of speakers remaining on my list. In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend to adjourn the meeting now. With the concurrence of the members of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will be fixed in consultation with the members of the Council.

Before adjourning the meeting, I should like, on behalf of the members of the Council, to express our warm thanks and appreciation to the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Benon Sevan, for his exemplary service to the Council. We wish him well as he takes up his new functions in the Organization.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3341*

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Forty-ninth Year

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3341st Meeting
Tuesday, 1 March 1994, 6 p.m.
New York

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Agenda

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories

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The situation in the occupied Arab territories

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Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/223)

The President *(interpretation from French):* In accordance with the decisions taken at the 3340th meeting, I invite the representative of Israel to take a place at the Council table; I invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Egypt, Greece, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Qatar, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Yaacobi (Israel) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan), Mr. Lamamra (Algeria), Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Exarchos (Greece), Mr. Nasier (Indonesia), Mr. Khoshroo (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Bataineh (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Makkawi (Lebanon), Mr. Elhouderi (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Al-Ni'mah (Qatar), Mr. Yassin (Sudan), Mr. Awad (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia), Mr. Batu (Turkey) and Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bahrain, Bangladesh, Japan, Mauritania and Ukraine in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Faihani (Bahrain), Mr. Majid (Bangladesh), Mr. Motomura (Japan), Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud (Mauritania) and Mr. Khandogy (Ukraine) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 1 March 1994 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which reads as follows:

> "In my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I have the honour to request that I be invited to participate in the debate on the agenda item 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories', under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council."

On previous occasions, the Security Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on the agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/231, which

contains the text of a letter dated 28 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of a declaration of the European Union.

Members of the Council have also received photocopies of a letter dated 28 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as document S/1994/236.

The first speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Farhadi *(Afghanistan) (interpretation from French):* As the first speaker as you begin your presidency of the Security Council on this first day of March, I should also like, Sir, to be the first to congratulate you. The Council now has to decide on some most serious and complex issues, and we have every confidence in your abilities as an experienced diplomat and in your wealth of knowledge of these issues to enable you to guide the work of the Council to a successful conclusion.

With the deepest pain and great indignation, the entire world has condemned the massacre committed in Al-Khalil, or Hebron, before sunrise on Friday, 25 February, the fifteenth day of Ramadan, the month of fasting. We are here first and foremost to raise our voices in echo of the voices of vast numbers of human beings.

It should be clearly understood that in occupied Palestinian territory those armed by the occupier are shooting not only adolescents who throw stones at the jeeps of the occupying army, but also those who fast, as Abraham and Moses fasted, and those who prostrate themselves before God, the common God of the three Abrahamic religions.

Hebron is called Al-Khalil by Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims throughout the world, and Al-Khalil means "close friend". Why "close friend"? Because that is where the tomb of Abraham is found. Consulting the Koran, we find that Sura 4, verse 125 - which I wish to quote in English, as well as in French, and also in Arabic, which is now an official language of the United Nations - says:

"For God did take
Abraham for a friend."

The same verse states that every believer should follow the religion of Abraham - "*millat Ibrahim*" - the religion of a *hanif*, that is, of an upright person. For Muslims, Abraham is the spiritual patriarch of all the sincere believers of mankind - "*al-nas*" - as is stated in the last verse of Sura 22 of the Holy Book of Islam, a Book where the name of Abraham is mentioned 70 times.

This is why the *haram* - the precinct of this place of Islamic pilgrimage in the city of Al-Khalil, the precinct that was desecrated at dawn on Friday by a terrorist with the infidel's heart in a massacre of believers who had already begun their fast and were prostrating themselves before the Lord of Abraham, who is also their Lord - is the most sacred site in Palestinian territory, after, obviously, the Haram al-Sharif, which is the holy precinct of the city of Al-Quds, or Jerusalem.

It might be said that the points I have just made are religious points. But even lay people, whose way of life is prevalent here at the United Nations, will find in them certain socio-political facts of great importance.

Numerically speaking, the abominable massacre of 25 February set a record. Historically speaking, this is not the first time we have condemned such an occurrence. Indeed, three and a half years ago, on 8 October 1990, in the Haram al-Sharif, this holy sanctuary of the city of Al-Quds, or Jerusalem, violence committed by the Israeli security forces left more than 20 dead and more than 150 wounded among Palestinian civilians who were in the act of praying. Security Council resolution 672 (1990) called upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by its legal obligations and responsibilities upon under the Fourth Geneva Convention, applicable to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967 - including, clearly, Jerusalem.

However, for a quarter of a century now, Israeli propaganda has generally tried to suggest to the inhabitants of settlements that they were living in territory that belonged to them. This unofficial attitude of the Israeli authorities prepared the ground for ideological indoctrination that runs counter to the whole purpose of the peace process now under way. Since the Palestinian civil population has been living in the same territories for centuries, those preaching hate for the peace process were able to gain tremendous influence, particularly in the settlements, which were set up under military occupation.

It is therefore important, first and foremost, for anyone trying to promote the continuation of the peace process to disarm ideologically the fundamentalist extremists in these settlements and to convince them that the land on which they have been installing themselves

since 1967 is occupied temporarily and unjustly. It belongs, in fact, to the Palestinians, who have been living there for many centuries.

Anyone who strives for peace while insisting on maintaining settlements in territory occupied militarily, and who supports the settlers and their actions by means of armed force will never achieve his goals of peace. This is the lesson that we learned from the end of colonialism in the twentieth century, and it is also the lesson of thousands of years of the history of nations.

In our century, in this age of automatic weapons, instruments that make it possible to kill a whole crowd of human beings in a few seconds, it is important to start by disarming these settlers, whether or not they be psychopaths or lunatics.

For the moment, the massacre at dawn on Friday has profoundly harmed not only the Palestinians but also the credibility of the peace process. For the future, these settlements are centres for terrorists and have been rightly called time bombs that could destroy the entire peace effort.

The massacre of 25 February has demonstrated irrefutably that the peace process is totally incompatible with the actions of the armed occupation forces of armed settlers, whether or not they wear the uniform of Israeli reservists. Let us recall that this point has already been made. In paragraph 4 of resolution 681 (1990), of 20 December 1990, the Israeli Government is called upon to accept the *de jure* applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967 and to abide scrupulously by the provisions of that Convention.

Furthermore, it is an actual fact that the settlers, armed not only with automatic weapons but also with certain political plans, are working under the benevolent and complaisant gaze of the occupying army. I say "political plans" because among these settlers there are certain centres of hatred. Consequently, there is a potential for sabotage of the entire Palestinian-Israeli peace process.

The acts of these settlers in particular and the occupation security forces in general are contrary to the principles clearly enunciated by the current Government of Israel, and hence to the Oslo negotiations of August 1993 and the Washington Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993.

The need to protect the Palestinian civilians in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds (Jerusalem), not only is based on international law but is also required and made imperative by a practical and concrete situation which the Government of Israel should recognize as being of prime importance.

What is the solution to all this? Three consecutive stages can be clearly envisaged.

First, the extremists, the fundamentalists, among the settlers must be disarmed immediately.

Secondly, the rest of the settlers must be disarmed immediately thereafter.

Thirdly - that is, in a subsequent stage - there must be an accelerated dismantling of the Israeli settlements in all the occupied Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds (Jerusalem). This might, of course, require the building of housing within Israel to which these settlers can be transferred. The ways and means of carrying out such a plan would be part of the peace negotiations.

At the same time, international protection of the Palestinian civilian population is clearly necessary. The duration of such protection will be a function of the success of the peace process - the quicker that process is completed, the shorter will be the time needed for such protection. This international protection would be a positive factor, militating in favour of satisfactory progress in the peace process.

In conclusion, an overwhelming consequence for the prospects for peace would seem to be the need to revise fundamentally the agenda for the ongoing peace negotiations - particularly to reorder the priorities radically. The most urgent priority now is clearly the need to afford protection to the Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories. All the parties involved, including the United Nations, must deal with this. It is a new chapter in the book concerning respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people - first and foremost their right to live and to survive, and then their right to independence.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Afghanistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Samhan *(United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic):* I should like to begin by expressing to you, Sir, the congratulations of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are certain that your diplomatic skills and your experience will contribute to the Council's achievement of positive results.

I have the honour also of expressing our appreciation and paying a tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the sister country of Djibouti, for the efficient and able way in which he presided over the Council's deliberations last month.

I wish also to express to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Council our thanks and appreciation for having convened the Council and for giving us the opportunity of addressing it.

We were shocked, indeed stunned, by the magnitude of the tragedy that befell our Palestinian brothers as a result of the heinous carnage perpetrated by an evil, criminal Israeli hand against persons praying at Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi at dawn on Friday, 25 February 1994. The people and the Government of the United Arab Emirates have condemned in the strongest possible terms this criminal massacre that took a toll of more than 50 martyrs and resulted in the wounding of hundreds of other Palestinians.

Since this massacre took place, many Palestinians have been killed or wounded by Israeli military forces. Their only crime was that they were expressing their indignation at this heinous act perpetrated against their kith and kin in Al-Khalil. Their only crime was that they were demanding that an end be put to the Israeli occupation of their homeland and that they be given an opportunity to exercise their inalienable, legitimate national rights, like all the other peoples of the world that have attained independence and rid themselves of the yoke of foreign occupation.

The criminal transgression against the sacred Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi and the murder of the Muslims praying there was a heinous crime, totally incompatible with the sanctity of the Holy Places which are held in such high esteem by all the divinely revealed religions. It was also a flagrant violation of international humanitarian law.

This bloody carnage cannot be regarded as an isolated event. It is linked with two similar events: the arson at the Holy Al Aqsa Mosque in El-Quds (Jerusalem) in 1969, and the killing of 20 persons and the wounding of hundreds of others at the Haram Al-Sharif in Jerusalem in 1990 by Israeli military forces, without any regard or respect for the fact that the Holy Places are sacred to millions of Muslims in the world.

Israel's record since its occupation of the Palestinian territories is replete with examples of the desecration of holy shrines. Anyone who analyzes these three crimes against Muslim places of worship will conclude that Israel is either unable or unwilling to provide adequate protection for the holy shrines and for those worshipping in them. Whatever the reason may be, that position is untenable.

The Israeli authorities take no measures to prevent extremist Israeli groups from perpetrating their terrorist crimes and acts of aggression against the Palestinian people. To the contrary, the Israeli authorities permit those groups and other settlers to carry weapons, on the pretext of self-defence. But all the evidence indicates that those weapons have been used only to attack unarmed Palestinian civilians.

Israel is attempting to shirk its responsibility for this carnage, on the pretext that the perpetrator was deranged. We reject that argument, both in form and in content. It was the Israeli authorities themselves who permitted him to carry weapons; it was they who permitted him to enter the mosque during prayers; they took no swift, effective action to stop the carnage. That proves that the Israeli authorities condone the crimes perpetrated by the settlers against the Palestinian people. Moreover, preliminary reports indicate that some Israeli soldiers actually participated in the murders.

The Israeli authorities confiscated Palestinian lands and have permitted the establishment of settlements on those lands. They have transferred tens of thousands of settlers from all over the world to live there, in total contravention of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. That policy is in flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions declaring the settlements illegal, and of the norms of international conduct, the United Nations Charter and the rules of international law.

In the face of this situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, which is deteriorating owing to Israeli practices against the Palestinian civilian population, the international community, and in particular the Security Council, cannot continue to be a helpless spectator content with declarations of condemnation and resolutions of denunciation. It has the duty to take decisive steps to guarantee the security and safety of the Palestinian people.

Hence, the Government of the United Arab Emirates calls upon the international community, and especially the Security Council, fully to shoulder its responsibility under the Charter and under the rules and norms of international law by adopting an unambiguous decision to protect the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif. It must also seek the implementation of Security Council resolution 681 (1990) and appoint an international commission to investigate the circumstances under which the carnage was perpetrated in Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi in Al-Khalil, taking whatever steps are required to enable that commission to discharge its mandate.

Recent statements by Israel regarding its intention to disarm some settlers are not enough to prevent the repetition of such crimes and carnage against the Palestinian people. We therefore consider it important - indeed, necessary - that all settlers without exception be disarmed. That measure must be implemented in the context of a policy leading to the dismantling of existing settlements and the return of the settlers to Israel, in conformity with Security Council resolution 465 (1980), paragraph 6 of which calls for the dismantling of existing settlements.

That is the right approach for the Israeli authorities to take if they are indeed seriously interested in achieving a just, comprehensive, peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the question of Palestine.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of the United Arab Emirates for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Elhouderi *(Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic):* Let me begin, Sir, by saying how pleased I am to see you presiding over the work of the Security Council for this month, which coincides with the holy month of Ramadan. It is a time when the holy places are filled and Muslims - their faces glowing with a sense of trust and serenity - seek, through prayer, fasting and good works, to come closer to God.

I am sure, Sir, that your ability and diplomatic skill will enable the Council to do a remarkable job in the face of these tragic events.

I wish also to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Olhaye of Djibouti, who guided the work of the Council last month with great skill.

The events the Council is considering today constitute a crime of collective extermination that in a brief moment resulted in 60 deaths and some 300 injuries among Palestinians. A Zionist gang led by an extremist American Jew committed this crime. This gang is motivated by the hatred that infects their hearts so deeply that they are blind to the holiness of a House of God. This gang preyed upon the trust and serenity of the worshippers in order to overwhelm them with gunfire, and thus achieved their premeditated criminal aims.

Following the crime, the malevolent masters of propaganda announced that the crime had been committed by a single criminal. That constitutes an attempt to harbour criminals and save them from punishment, and to conceal the plans to terrorize and exterminate the Palestinian people. This propaganda reiterates that the criminal was a madman; we are accustomed to hearing such claims following each crime.

But the evidence shows that the perpetrators are part of a gang of the followers of Rabbi Meir Kahane, a terrorist, extremist Jew.

This gang has a long history of attacking places of worship. They were the ones who set fire to the holy mosque of Jerusalem in an attempt to blow it up. They are also the ones who attacked Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi several times in the past, opening fire on worshippers and stealing its historic wealth. If they are indeed madmen they should be kept in hospitals to prevent them from bringing about such suffering. Such horrible carnage could not have been brought about without premeditation and without protection from the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine, because we know that Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi is under the protection of the Zionist army. Where was that army at the time this barbarous act was committed? The Zionist army did not remain idle: it opened fire on the Palestinians who had gathered in the courtyard of the local hospital in Hebron to give blood or to seek news of their loved ones. The Zionist entity could not commit such terrorist criminal acts without the moral and material support of the United States of America, which turns a blind eye to the Zionist entity's violations of human rights and, indeed, impedes efforts to bring it to heel. The United States is interested only in the continuation of the peace talks.

This was a premeditated and organized criminal act, carried out with sophisticated weapons. It was a flagrant,

violent act of aggression that typifies what the Palestinians have to endure every day.

While the Zionist entity denounces these acts today, others remain silent and even join the funeral cortege of their victims. One may rightly wonder whether we are really on the road to peace, because, so far, that road leads only to the interests of the Zionist entity: To speak of peace and security is to speak of the peace and security enjoyed by that entity. But there is no security or peace for the Palestinian people. The Zionist entity, thanks to American support, is already enjoying the fruits of peace, even before peace has been established. There are agreements to provide American weapons. There are trade agreements to ensure the security of that State, whereas the Palestinian people only finds destruction, death and expulsion.

The Arab peoples in general and the children with stones in particular cannot believe in such a process; they cannot accept a peace based on inequality and oppression. The Arab peoples will support a just peace, one which is aimed at freeing Palestinian and occupied Arab territories from occupation and extremism so that Muslims, Christians and Jews may live together in a democratic State, as is possible today in South Africa. That is the only solution likely to bring about a just peace, and not these false and shameful initiatives.

The Security Council is today considering a flagrant act of aggression - a barbaric terrorist act which threatens international peace and security. The Security Council must shoulder its responsibilities with the same enthusiasm and determination it has shown in other cases which have been considered to be threats to international peace and security. The Council is therefore faced with a difficult test today. It has but two options open to it: to continue with the policy of double standards imposed by most of the permanent members, a policy which has brought about inequality and destroyed the Council's credibility or to shoulder its responsibility for safeguarding international peace and security by implementing the Charter of the United Nations.

The peace of the Palestinian people and its security are seriously endangered. Hence the Security Council is in duty bound to adopt forthwith the following measures to guarantee to that people its right to live in peace and security: firstly, the organization of an international enquiry within the framework of the Security Council to ascertain the identities of the perpetrators of the crime; secondly, protection of the Palestinians from attacks by settlers; thirdly, confiscation of the settlers' weapons and withdrawal of the Zionist army from Palestinian towns and villages; fourthly, the dismantlement of Zionist settlements, which are in fact citadels of terrorism and provocation.

If the Security Council fails to assume its responsibility with resolve and persists in its hypocritical policy, it will mean that Arab and Palestinian blood is cheap and does not merit the interest of the Council.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Lebanon. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Makkawi *(Lebanon)*: Sir, allow me first to extend, on behalf of my delegation, sincerest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. In Lebanon, we are all well aware of your commitment to the cause of peace in the Middle East and are confident that the work of the Council will be conducted most efficiently under your wise and proven leadership.

I should also like to thank your predecessor, my brother and friend, the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Djibouti, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of February.

In addition, I avail myself of this opportunity to express Lebanon's deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his expeditious handling of this crisis, and for his wisdom in offering to dispatch United Nations observers to the occupied Palestinian territories.

The whole world is stunned by the horrendous massacre at Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi in Al-Khalil, Hebron. This is the first time a man has entered a place of worship during the holy month of Ramadan and gunned down hundreds of people prostrated in prayer. Clearly, the root of this tragedy is the continuation of the Israeli occupation, the insidious growth of settlements and the sustained influx of Jewish fundamentalists into the occupied territories. Peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved when Palestinians are allotted only 20 per cent of their historic land and when that 20 per cent is traumatized by 144 illegal settlements within the Palestinian homeland.

These settlements are armed camps and hotbeds of extremism openly hostile to the indigenous population. The

world was shocked this weekend to learn that some Jews in Israel and the occupied territories proudly associate themselves with the man who committed this macabre act. This sad truth is underscored by the fact that a thousand fundamentalists attended his funeral procession and by the rabbi who eulogized the murderer with the words that

> "One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail."

All of us would like to believe that this was the act of a lone, crazed gunman, but the fact remains that Baruch Goldstein was the product of a society and ideology supported by former Israeli Governments and funded by ultra-Zionist groups. Some 300 dead and wounded are hardly the work of one man, a fact which speaks of complicity in the crime.

The Government of Israel, despite its involvement in the Middle East peace process and its signing of the Declaration of Principles in Washington, has done nothing to discourage settlements or check extremist activity in the territories. Instead it has engaged in tactical manoeuvres aimed at postponing an Israeli troop withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho, such as its petty arguments over Palestinian troop sizes, border controls and Jericho's boundaries. Consequently, the 13 December deadline for withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho has come and gone with no substantive progress achieved.

Now, with the news of the massacre, Palestinians are finding that hope is giving way to anger and desperation. Since 1967 Israel, the occupying Power, has failed to provide protection for the civilian population under its occupation, as it is its obligation to do under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. Furthermore, with the growth of militant Judaism in the occupied lands, it is incumbent upon Israel to redouble its efforts to provide this protection. However, Israel's characteristic negligence and brutality is attested to by the fact that Israeli soldiers not only facilitated the massacre by allowing the gunman to enter the mosque, but were responsible for some of the deaths at the scene, as reported by the news media. And, as if this were not enough, soldiers have killed many demonstrators.

Lebanon knows what it is to suffer under the brutal policies and practices of occupation, because we have endured the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon for the past 16 years. Not a single day passes without the death of innocent civilians and the destruction of homes and property. None the less, the people of Lebanon are thoroughly convinced of the need for a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, which must encompass the Lebanese, Syrian, Jordanian and Palestinian tracks.

However, peace cannot prevail so long as the occupation continues, the settlements remain and Jewish extremists continue to threaten the security of Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. As has been echoed time and time here, the need for a just and equitable solution to the Palestinian problem is the root of the broader Arab-Israeli conflict. Such a solution is the only hope for stability in the region and for the triumph of moderation.

Peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved unless the Palestinians are granted their legitimate national rights and Israel withdraws from the Palestinian and Syrian territories in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and from southern Lebanon, in accordance with Security Council resolution 425 (1978).

The reality of the need for a comprehensive peace is demonstrated by the fact that the effects of the massacre have been felt throughout the Arab and Muslim worlds. In Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt demonstrators rallied vehemently against the massacre, casting a dark shadow over the peace process. The Governments of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan responded by suspending talks with Israel which had been scheduled for this week.

Also, in Lebanon, just two days after the massacre, a bomb exploded during a church service, killing nine innocent worshippers and wounding more than 60 people. This proves that the forces which have tried over the years to destabilize Lebanon and undermine our unity and national reconciliation are behind this bombing, which they carried out in order to divert attention away from the massacre at Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi in Al-Khalil. However, they will not succeed. Lebanon is committed to the peace process and is strong enough to overcome this conspiracy. The Government and the people of Lebanon are standing firm to ensure that the tranquillity that has reigned in Lebanon for the last three years will continue. Furthermore, we will do everything in our power to bring the criminals to justice.

At this critical juncture the Government of Israel must make a decision upon which the fate of the Middle East peace process will depend: does it want peace enough to dismantle the illegal settlements and bring back 130,000 settlers to Israel proper, or does it want to jettison the whole peace process and face what is quickly becoming a rising and insurmountable wave of religious extremism? Israel's condemnation of the massacre is not enough. Nor

are its promises to arrest, disarm and restrict the movement of a handful of extremists. These empty gestures will do little to affect the situation on the ground unless all settlers are disarmed. After all, if settlers in the territories have no confidence in Israeli military protection, then why should the Palestinians? Either allow all civilians in the territories to carry arms, or disarm them all.

I should like to conclude by saying that, in addition to the immediate disarming of settlers, what is urgently needed is for the Security Council to establish an international presence in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem to ensure the safety and security of the Palestinian population. Lebanon joins those Member States calling for the establishment of a temporary international presence in the occupied territories in accordance with Security Council resolution 681 (1990), and as provided for in the Declaration of Principles as a measure to be taken prior to final-status negotiations. Until that time, the international community must bear in mind that Israeli settlements are, first and foremost, illegal. Secondly, they are an obstacle to the peace process. And, finally, we have learned the lesson that they are time bombs whose explosions reverberate throughout the region.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Lebanon for his kind words addressed to me.

There are a number of speakers remaining on my list. In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend to adjourn the meeting now. With the concurrence of the members of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will be fixed in consultation with the members of the Council.

Before adjourning the meeting, I should like, on behalf of the members of the Council, to express our warm thanks and appreciation to the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Benon Sevan, for his exemplary service to the Council. We wish him well as he takes up his new functions in the Organization.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3342

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3342nd Meeting

Wednesday, 2 March 1994, 5.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	*(France)*
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Ms. Wong
	Nigeria	Mr. Uhomoibhi
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lozinskiy
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Boardman

Agenda

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories

   Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/222)

   Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/223)

94-85233 (E)

This record is subject to correction. Correction should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 5.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories

Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/222)

Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/223)

The President *(interpretation from French):* In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings of the Council, I invite the representative of Israel to take a place at the Council table; I invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Egypt, Greece, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Mauritania, Qatar, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine and the United Arab Emirates to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Yaacobi (Israel) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan), Mr. Lamamra (Algeria), Mr. Al-Faihani (Bahrain), Mr. Rahman (Bangladesh), Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Exarchos (Greece), Mr. Soegarda (Indonesia), Mr. Khoshroo (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Hatano (Japan), Mr. Bataineh (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Makkawi (Lebanon), Mr. Elhouderi (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud (Mauritania), Mr. Al-Ni'mah (Qatar), Mr. Yassin (Sudan), Mr. Awad (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia), Mr. Batu (Turkey), Mr. Khandogy (Ukraine) and Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on the agenda.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/1994/229, letter dated 28 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/237, letter dated 28 February 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1994/238, letter dated 28 February 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1994/239, letter dated 1 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a Communiqué of the Committee on Palestine of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The first speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Soegarda *(Indonesia):* At the outset, Sir, my delegation would like to congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of March. We are confident that under your able guidance, and with your diplomatic skill, the Council's deliberations will lead to the initiation of effective measures.

May I also avail myself of this opportunity to convey through you our appreciation to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Roble Olhaye of Djibouti, for the able leadership he provided to the Council during last month.

My delegation asked to participate in the Council's debate owing to its profound concern over the situation in

the occupied Palestinian territories, specifically in the town of Al-Khalil. The present meetings were requested by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Arab Group in the wake of the cold-blooded attack on worshippers who were offering prayers in a mosque, an attack that caused the death of more than 60 people and the wounding of more than 200. This outrage was further compounded by the killing of numerous Palestinians through a massive show of force by the Israeli army, resulting in numerous clashes and instances of confrontation. As if that were not enough, Al-Khalil and other areas have been either placed under curfew or declared closed military zones. My delegation is truly shocked by these actions.

The Indonesian Government's sense of outrage and its condemnation of the premeditated and barbaric attack was fully reflected in the statement issued in Jakarta by the Department of Foreign Affairs on 26 February 1994, which said *inter alia* that the massacre at the Al-Ibrahimi mosque was a despicable and criminal act towards innocent people and that the Government of Israel must be held accountable for such acts.

My Government has consistently maintained its firm unity with the people of Palestine in calling for concrete action by this Council to secure Israel's compliance with the Council's relevant and long-standing resolutions as well as with its obligation to protect the Palestinians in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention.

In the light of the gravity of the situation, we fully support the decision of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Arab Group to bring the matter before the Security Council to secure an immediate end to the Israeli policies of oppression and to ensure the safety and security of the Palestinian people through the presence of international observers.

Clearly, the brutal attack of last week and any recurrence of such attacks cannot but threaten a further escalation of tension and confrontation in the region, and could even bring about a setback to the ongoing peace process. My delegation therefore calls upon the Council not to shirk its responsibility and to respond with firmness, not only to put an end to such acts and prevent their recurrence, but, even more so, to achieve a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict as a whole, a settlement that must necessarily include the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Indonesia, as Chairman of the Committee on Palestine of the Non-Aligned Movement, would like to inform the Council that the Committee adopted a communiqué at its meeting held yesterday concerning the grave situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. As members of the Council are aware, the Committee expressed its strong condemnation of the barbaric attack on Palestinian worshippers in the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi mosque, and it urged the international community to take decisive measures to ensure the protection of Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories and to disarm the settlers pending the dismantlement of illegal settlements. Furthermore, it reaffirmed the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and called upon the Security Council to take immediate remedial measures to forestall the recurrence of similar acts. The Committee also decided to monitor closely the developments in the occupied Palestinian territories in order to ensure that they are conducive to the implementation of the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, as a step towards the Palestinians' exercising their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

Before concluding, may I, on behalf of the Government and the people of Indonesia, extend our heartfelt condolences and deep sympathy to our Palestinian brothers, and in particular to the bereaved families.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Indonesia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Exarchos *(Greece) (interpretation from French):* First of all, I would like to say how pleased I am to see you assume the presidency of the Security Council. Your experience and professional abilities guarantee the success of the Council's work during the month of March. I would also like to congratulate your predecessor, the distinguished Permanent Representative of Djibouti, on the excellent guidance he gave the Council during the past month.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union, which wishes to express its deep outrage over the abominable act of terrorism that took place in Hebron, and all the acts of violence which have followed it, causing the loss of innocent lives. That act of terrorism against innocent civilians was all the more horrible in that it occurred in a place of worship. We extend our sincere condolences to the families of the victims.

We have frequently condemned violence, whatever its source, and expressed the hope that its consequences will from now on be part of a bygone era.

We have noted with satisfaction the strong condemnation of these acts by the Israeli Government. However, we recall that the Israeli authorities have responsibility for ensuring the protection and safety of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories in accordance with their obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

The European Union welcomes the measures announced last Sunday by the Israeli Government designed to put an end to illegal acts by Israeli settlers. These measures are without any doubt a step in the right direction. We will follow very carefully the progress of the inquiry to determine the circumstances of the massacre.

We also earnestly appeal to the Israeli authorities to continue their efforts to establish the necessary conditions for stabilizing the situation. The European Union would in particular call on the parties to conclude an agreement on a temporary international or foreign presence, as provided for in the Declaration of Principles.

The European Union would also urge all interested parties to refuse to be caught up in a spiral of violence, but, rather, to intensify their efforts to advance the peace process which has now begun. We repeat that we attach extreme importance to that process, which we fully support, and we express the hope that it will not be impeded or delayed by the tragic events.

The European Union welcomed the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian agreement of 13 September 1993 with particular satisfaction, since that agreement represented the beginning of the implementation of principles, including peaceful coexistence and respect for each other's security and dignity, which we had advocated for many years. The European Union is still convinced that a just and overall settlement will put an end to the tension and the confrontations. We reiterate our appeals for peace to be confirmed as the clear and unanimous choice of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Greece for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Awad *(Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic):* I am pleased to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's pleasure at seeing you preside over the Security Council this month. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Olhaye for his efforts as President of the Council last month. I am also pleased to welcome the representatives of the new members of the Security Council.

The entire population of the Syrian Arab Republic was deeply shocked by the news of the abominable massacre of Palestinian worshippers praying at dawn on Friday in the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi mosque in the city of Hebron, a massacre in which there were scores of martyrs and hundreds of wounded. This odious terrorist act reminds Arabs and Muslims of the Deir Yassin massacre in 1948. This terrorist act proves to the entire world the gravity of the continuing Israeli occupation of Arab territories and the establishment of Israeli settlements in those territories, carried out contrary to all laws and scorning all resolutions of the United Nations and the Charter. It is a flagrant act of defiance.

It is obvious to the whole international community that the obstinate attitude of Israel, its expansionist aims and its delaying tactics in the peace talks for more than two years are directly or indirectly responsible for extremism in the region. The terrorist act which cost the lives of worshippers praying in the mosque of Ibrahim during the holy month of Ramadan was a deliberate, premeditated crime, not an irresponsible, individual act, as Israel claims. Therefore, we hold the occupying State responsible for crimes perpetrated by settlers. We call for the disarming of the settlers and for implementation of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention with a view to ensuring the protection of Arab citizens in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories.

Syria is aware that the whole world condemns this odious massacre. Syria is also aware that words of condemnation and reproof are not sufficient to put an end to the cycle of violence and terror. Only the end of the Israeli occupation without further delay in the current peace talks and the accession of the Palestinian people to its right to self-determination can guarantee an end to extremism and violence and the establishment of a just and lasting comprehensive peace.

Since the peace talks began Israel has been attempting to extract a peace document from the Arab side before it will accept, even on principle, the concession which peace demands - the return of the occupied territories to their rightful owners.

Ever since the Madrid Conference, and despite the changes in the Israeli administration, the Israeli negotiators have been trying to change the purpose of the Middle East peace talks from peace for land to peace for Arab concessions. Indeed, in its discussions with my country, Israel is asking Syria to agree to the normalization of all bilateral relations before any official mention of Israel's readiness to withdraw completely from the occupied Golan. Far from indicating any such readiness, the Prime Minister of Israel, ever since his accession to power, has affirmed that he will not deal with the Golan in its entirety. He recently surprised the world by declaring that he would leave the question of withdrawal from Golan to a referendum, as if the question of Syrian Golan, contrary to all international law and custom, were an internal domestic Israeli issue. Thus, it is the Israeli voter who will decide the fate of negotiations between Arabs and Israelis.

With reference to talks with Lebanon, Israel requests that Lebanon take action against its southern population and that it suppress the legal opposition to its military occupation. At the same time, Israel refuses to implement Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which calls for the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon.

Moreover, Israel denies the peoples of the occupied territories the right to resist occupation and expects the Governments of those territories to join with the occupying force in suppressing national resistance, as if the purpose of peace were to set in stone for ever the Israeli occupation, rather than to terminate it.

That is the Israeli mentality confronting the Arabs in the peace talks. If the two States which are co-sponsoring the peace conference do not intervene on behalf of the international community in favour of the peace process - if they do not implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations with a view to reaching a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement - Israel will put into practice the principle espoused by former Prime Minister Shamir, who said: "It is my intention to negotiate with the Arabs for 10 years without allowing those talks to reach any settlement whatsoever".

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lamamra *(Algeria) (interpretation from Arabic):* Sir, I should like to express the congratulations of the delegation of Algeria on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. Your personal and professional qualities and the experience of your country in the question of the Middle East guarantee the Council's success in this grave matter under consideration. I also take this occasion to express to the Permanent Representative of Djibouti our deep appreciation for the contribution he made during his tenure of office last month.

As we are all aware, the Declaration of Principles signed on 13 September 1993 between the PLO and Israel was the first step towards peace. In spite of the difficulties that have been hampering full implementation of the Declaration of Principles, in letter and in spirit and in keeping with its agenda, the international community still feels optimistic regarding the peace process. However, the odious massacre that took place in Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi in occupied Hebron reminds us that the enemies of peace, who attach no importance to human life or to holy shrines and places of worship as symbols of tolerance and goodwill will stop at nothing in their attempts to dash hopes and to ignite the fire of envy. Their aim is to prevent the establishment of permanent, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East such as would bring justice to the Palestinian people, which has suffered from injustice and oppression for decades.

The gravity of last Friday's massacre of worshippers in a holy shrine resides not only in the inadmissibility of that criminal act, but also in its ramifications, as made clear by news reports. The seriousness of the act is compounded by the position adopted by the occupation authorities, which must bear full responsibility by virtue of their obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

The occupation authorities bear additional responsibility in view of their obligation to have taken the necessary preventive action. They are also responsible for the arbitrary acts of oppression that resulted in many victims among the worshippers who survived the massacre and who took to the streets outside the mosque to express their grief.

It has become clear that the political question highlighted by last Friday's massacre is that of the illegal settlements established in the occupied Arab territories. The occupation authorities have no right to use such settlements as a pretext to shirk their contractual obligations or their responsibility to create the necessary conditions to

enable the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

If we are to avert the current situation's potential threat to peace and stability in the territory of Palestine, the settlers must be disarmed and their settlements dismantled.

Algeria, represented by President Liamine Zeroual, expressed its full solidarity with the fraternal Palestinian people and their leadership in this crisis. Algeria is, of course, calling for a special session of the Arab League, and we have informed the League and the Security Council of that fact.

Algeria deems it essential to the credibility of the United Nations and to peace in the Middle East that this meeting not consist simply of a ritualistic inveighing against any repetition of such crimes. The Security Council must find in the universal condemnation of the massacre and in its vast and immense effects grounds for a constructive reaction, one which will ensure for the Palestinians in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, sufficient protection through an adequate international presence.

In so doing, the Security Council should mobilize its efforts to give momentum to the peace process and guide it towards success so that indiscriminate violence can be brought to an end. By taking such initiatives, the Security Council will be acting on behalf of all Members of the United Nations and taking the appropriate course to honour the memory of those slain in Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi and to help ensure that their sacrifices will have spared the Palestinian people the specter of additional suffering. To that end, the Security Council should turn the text of its resolution into a message of hope and of solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Algeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Razali *(Malaysia)*: My delegation, Sir, would like to extend its felicitations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We are confident that you will conduct the affairs of the Council with great integrity and dedication.

The massacre at the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi mosque in Israeli-occupied Hebron on 25 February has deeply shocked and anguished people all over the world. The Malaysian Foreign Minister stated on 26 February that

> "Malaysia strongly condemns the brutal massacre at the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi mosque in Hebron and feels deeply saddened that such an incident has occurred in a holy place during the month of Ramadan."

The Government and people of Malaysia extend their heartfelt condolences to the State of Palestine and to the families of the deceased, and share with them their grief and bereavement.

This act of terrorism must be condemned unequivocally. The incident cannot be dismissed as the action of an alleged madman. Israel cannot escape responsibility for the killings. This massacre has once again highlighted, at terrible cost, the gravity of the situation in the occupied territories and the urgent need for Israel to change its policies and practices in the occupied territories, including the immediate disarming of its settlers.

Malaysia is disappointed that the Security Council could not be convened earlier. On such a heinous act, the Council has a Charter obligation to pronounce early and swiftly condemnation on behalf of the international community. There can be no room for partisan interests impeding the work of the Council.

Given the gravity of the situation and the urgent need to guarantee the safety of the Palestinians, the Council must take the necessary steps to ensure that all its relevant resolutions, in particular resolution 681 (1990), are implemented without delay. Resolution 681 (1990), which was adopted unanimously by the Council, strongly urged Israel to abide scrupulously by the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which is applicable to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. The Israeli Government must therefore be reminded of and be held accountable to its obligations and responsibilities under the Convention. The weight and authority of the Council must be applied to guarantee that Israel is accountable and that the safety and protection of Palestinians are guaranteed by Israel.

My delegation would like to underline the necessity of a resolution on Palestine adopted by the Council without further delay. We want that resolution to send a clear message to Israel, the occupying Power in the Palestinian territory, of its responsibilities under the Geneva Convention regarding the protection of the Palestinian civilians in all occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

We hope that the resolution would deter the recurrence of similar atrocities against the Palestinian people.

My delegation supports the proposal of the Secretary-General to dispatch an envoy to Israel to discuss the possibility of the United Nations deploying observers in that region, as envisaged in the Declaration of Principles signed by the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization on 13 September last. We share the Secretary-General's view that such an effort

> "could serve both to support the negotiating process and to help overcome the prevailing mistrust between the Palestinians and the Israelis in the occupied territories."

If Israel is truly sincere in its efforts to find a lasting and peaceful solution to the Palestinian conflict, it should not reject the proposal for some kind of international presence in the occupied territories. In the meantime, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees must continue to help the victims and contribute towards the safety, security and well-being of all Palestinians.

Malaysia wishes to reaffirm the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including the inalienable right to self-determination, and reiterates the need for the withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and from the other occupied Arab territories. Without doubt, the violence in that part of the world underscores yet again the urgent need for the United Nations to continue to play an active role in the current peace process.

Extremism and prejudice clearly pose serious challenges to the peace process. The hopes for peace which the September Declaration of Principles engendered have yet to be realized. Extremism and terrorism must not be allowed to derail these efforts, while Israel must implement fully the Declaration of Principles. Its timely and full implementation would contribute to a comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Malaysia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Kuwait. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Abulhasan *(Kuwait)*: It gives me pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to preside over the work of the Security Council for this month. Your experience guarantees the complete success of the Council's work, and the role of your country supports you in maintaining international peace and security.

At the same time, I should like to pay a special tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Roble Olhaye, the Permanent Representative of fraternal Djibouti, for his success in conducting the work of the Security Council over the past month, which was an active one indeed.

The Security Council is meeting now to discuss the horrifying massacre that took place on 25 February in the town of Hebron. The shock of the massacre has been felt not only by the innocent Palestinian people under occupation, but by all people of conscience throughout the world. The shock was all the greater since a number of Israeli settlers - one of them in military uniform - shot defenceless people at prayer in a place sacred to Islam in the town of Hebron, leading to 50 dead and 200 injured. The massacre shocked my country - Government and people - deeply; it was the worst massacre since the Israeli occupation began in 1967. The Government of Kuwait has issued a statement expressing the feelings of the Kuwaiti people, and that statement has been distributed as an official document of the Security Council.

Despite the wide welcome accorded the Israeli-Palestinian agreement in international, Arab and Palestinian forums, there is a widespread feeling that since the time of the Madrid peace conference the international community has ignored the right of Palestinians under occupation to live in peace and safety. The Security Council was clear about this right in its resolution 681 (1990), in which it requested the Secretary-General, *inter alia*, to monitor and observe the situation regarding Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation.

The Secretary-General has already indicated in a report (S/25149) that a special United Nations monitoring mechanism should be established in the occupied territories, as suggested in resolution 681 (1990); such a monitoring mechanism should have the effect of reassuring Palestinians, particularly those living under occupation, that their need for safety and protection is not being neglected, regardless of whatever progress is or is not being made in the peace talks.

Here, I should like to commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his initiative in showing that he is ready to send international observers to

the occupied Palestinian territories. In these circumstances, it seems to us that it would be appropriate for the International Committee of the Red Cross - which, under the Fourth Geneva Convention, has a special responsibility for civilians under occupation - to play a similar observer role.

The continuation of violent acts in the occupied territories is a cause of great concern to us. We believe that the continuation of Israeli settlements and the activities of the settlers are amongst the basic obstacles to achieving tangible progress within the framework of international efforts to achieve a just and durable comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

Provocations, hostility and acts of aggression against Palestinians inside Palestinian towns, including Hebron, point to the need for the settlers to be disarmed and for the extremists to be kept under constant control. I believe that the Council must compel Israel to protect Palestinians from those who wish to place obstacles in the way of the peace process.

Kuwait calls upon the Council to include the following points in any resolution on this question, failing which it will be impossible to put an end to the cycle of aggression and counter-aggression that is undermining everything that has been achieved in the peace process.

First, a suitable mechanism to implement the Fourth Geneva Convention should be established through the deployment of a special international observer force to ensure the safety and protection of Arab citizens in occupied Palestinian and Arab towns.

Secondly, the Security Council should send a commission of inquiry to investigate this very dangerous incident.

Thirdly, the Israeli authorities should disarm the Israeli settlers and control their activities, which are endangering peace and security in the occupied Arab territories.

The Arab party takes seriously the peace negotiations that started in Madrid at the end of October 1991 under the auspices of the United States of America and the Russian Federation. To consolidate the steps taken towards peace we must achieve positive, tangible solutions to the issues that are to be discussed and negotiated between the Israelis and the Palestinians, first and foremost of which is the question of the settlements established by the occupying Power in violation of international law, and not the least of which is the question of withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, including Al-Quds al-Sharif, which is part and parcel of those territories.

Applying the resolutions of the Security Council, especially resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, must take high priority if real progress is to be achieved and if a success is to be made of the negotiations to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the question of Palestine and end the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Kuwait for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Batu *(Turkey)*: At the outset, I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. We are confident that under your able guidance the Council will successfully discharge its responsibilities. I should also like to pay tribute to Ambassador Olhaye of the Republic of Djibouti for the remarkable manner in which he conducted the work of the Council in February.

The whole world heard with deep shock and dismay of the massacre of more than 50 innocent Palestinian worshippers in Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi mosque in the early morning of 25 February. Turkey, which has a direct and natural interest in the Middle East and in the fate of its people, has strongly condemned this abhorrent act of terrorism. We are also gravely concerned by the other Palestinian casualties resulting from the continuing acts of violence by fanatical armed settlers and from the tough repressive measures taken by the Israeli security forces against Palestinian protesters following this savage massacre.

Last Friday, during the holy month of Ramadan, was a horrible day for all of us - for all Muslims and for all peace-loving people around the world. However, this massacre should not impair the peace process and allow extremist elements to interrupt the negotiations. We urge the parties to act with restraint and not to fall into the trap of those extremists and fanatics who are trying to undermine the ongoing peace process.

We call upon the Government of Israel to stop taking repressive measures. We urge the Israeli authorities to exercise the maximum restraint to avoid an escalation of violence and to act with common sense, since by doing otherwise they can only worsen the situation. The Government of Israel should guarantee the safety of the Palestinians by disarming the Israeli settlers of this area.

Israel has a responsibility to protect the Palestinian people. We urge the Israeli Government to accept the *de jure* applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of August 12, 1949, to all the territories it has occupied since 1968, including Jerusalem.

At this stage both Israelis and Palestinians should realize that they have vital strategic interests in implementing the Declaration of Principles signed on 13 September last year, and in keeping the peace process viable and irreversible. This Declaration has raised hopes and expectations over bringing about the beginning of a new era in the Middle East.

We still have full confidence in the wisdom, vision and common sense of the Palestinian and Israeli leadership. We urge them to intensify their efforts to reach an agreement on implementing the Declaration of Principles and to reaffirm their willingness *vis-à-vis* the peace process currently under way.

We hope that calm and common sense will prevail in the West Bank at this critical juncture so that the implementation of the Declaration of Principles may proceed without delay.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Turkey for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Sudan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Yassin *(Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic):* I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am sure that France - the France of history and the Revolution, the fount of freedom and justice - will guarantee us a clear-sighted and fruitful presidency this month.

I should also like to congratulate our friend Ambassador Roble Olhaye on his wise and patient guidance of the Council last month.

I should also like to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and to pay tribute to him for the positive and effective role he has played. His approach to his role and his performance of his functions derive from his competence and his respect for the sovereignty of States.

I am grateful for this opportunity to address the Council in connection with the most abhorrent crime that took place in the Al-Ibrahimi mosque in Hebron during the holy month of Ramadan, at dawn on Friday, 25 February, taking the lives of about 70 worshippers and wounding hundreds more as they prayed. This massacre committed by Israeli settlers against the defenceless civilian population of Palestine has profoundly shocked the entire world because its victims were worshippers at prayer in the holy month of Ramadan and because it left a great many dead and wounded.

As the Foreign Ministry of the Sudan has noted, this crime confirms that there is collusion between the Zionist occupation forces and the criminals, who felt they had a free hand to kill and terrorize defenceless Palestinians, unarmed except for their faith in God and in the justice of their cause. This collusion is proven by the Israeli authorities' provision of full protection to the Jewish settlers in the temple next to the Al-Ibrahimi mosque. It is also demonstrated by the Israeli forces' massacre of other Palestinian citizens in the angry demonstrations following the massacre. Since Israel bears full responsibility for the massacre, it should take all necessary measures, in keeping with the Fourth Geneva Convention, to protect the population under its occupation.

The world has heard the denials of those who proclaim themselves defenders of human rights, while they have been aiming their propaganda and political weapons against Arabs and Muslims whom they accuse of practising terrorism. They have gone so far as to draw up a list of countries that they accuse of practising terrorism and protecting terrorists. But these champions of human rights have shut their eyes to Israeli State terrorism. They have given this country their blessing and have provided Israel with money and arms to wipe out and terrorize the Palestinian people and to empty the Palestinian territory of its population so as to make the dream of a greater Israel come true. This is Israel's ultimate objective, even though it pretends to work for peace.

The peace that Israel wants is capitulation and acceptance of the status quo. Instead of peace, the Palestinian people know only oppression and the denial of its legitimate rights, which have been recognized by the international community in resolutions of the United Nations and in the provisions of its Charter.

The eyes of the world are turned towards this Council to judge the credibility of claims that there is a new world order, after the supposed end of the cold war. The international community expects the Council to take the following measures. First the Council should condemn Israel for its failure to protect civilians under its occupation and should hold Israel fully responsible for the massacre in Hebron. Secondly, the Council should take action to ensure international protection for the defenceless Palestinian people in the face of terrorism and the tyranny of Zionist gangs supported by the occupation authorities. Thirdly, urgent measures should be taken to disarm the Zionist gangs. Fourthly, Israeli settlements in all the occupied Arab territories should be dismantled, pursuant to United Nations resolutions.

The massacre in the mosque of Ibrahim has exposed the true face of the Zionist regime and the true worth of its claims to be seeking peace. It puts on the shoulders of the international community, as represented here in this Council, the responsibility to ensure justice, not to apply double standards and to affirm fundamental principles: the protection of all peoples, regardless of race or religion, and the defence of their rights.

We want the Council to take action. We want it to show it has the political will to implement its decisions on the Arab and Palestinian causes, in particular resolutions 465 (1980) and 681 (1990).

The Palestinian people has freely chosen peace, and that decision is fully respected by the Government of Sudan and by most other Arab Islamic countries.

But the massacre in the Al-Ibrahimi mosque, and Israeli procrastination with respect to implementing existing arrangements, have shocked the world and proved that Israel is perpetuating the cold-war conditions that the rest of the world has left behind.

The Council should investigate this crime, a crime that proves that Israel does not desire peace. A just, lasting and comprehensive peace cannot be achieved in the context of Israel's policies; it can come about only when there is respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, when Israel withdraws from all the occupied Arab territories, and when a Palestinian State has been established, with Jerusalem as its capital.

Sudan joins in urging the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter so that the just, lasting and comprehensive peace desired by the entire world can be achieved.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Sudan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Khoshroo *(Islamic Republic of Iran):* First of all, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I also wish to pay a special tribute to the Permanent Representative of Djibouti for the excellent job he did during his presidency last month.

My delegation received with great shock and anguish the news on the massacre of Muslim people of Palestine by Zionist elements. On behalf of the people and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, I wish to express the deepest condolences to the bereaved families and to the Palestinian people on the occasion of this horrible massacre.

Early last Friday morning, while innocent Palestinians were fasting during the holiest month, the forces of the Zionist regime slaughtered a large number of Palestinians. They martyred more than 50 people and injured more than 200. The victims were shot in the back while they were praying in the house of Allah, a safe place. The circumstances surrounding this tragic incident clearly prove that the attack was premeditated and led by elements from the Zionist army. That the Israeli soldiers guarding the mosque not only did nothing to stop the massacre, but opened fire on worshippers who were fleeing the scene, clearly indicates that full responsibility for the massacre lies with the Zionist regime. Furthermore, since the incident dozens of Palestinians have been martyred in various parts of occupied territories.

It is astonishing that Zionists coming from a land thousands of miles away from the occupied territories are allowed to migrate there, carry automatic guns and attack indigenous civilians in their mosque, while the Palestinians are not allowed to live in their homeland and are subjected to continuous Zionist brutality.

Numerous United Nations resolutions and reports of various United Nations agencies and other organizations regarding the very critical situation in the occupied territories leave no doubt as to the difficulties that the Palestinians continue to experience. The people of Palestine continue to live in circumstances in which the torture and massacre of innocent people, the application of collective punishment and other aggressive policies are carried out on a daily basis.

The recent crime by Zionists in the occupied territories will not be the last if the approach of the international community towards the question of Palestine continues to be the same. It is incumbent upon the Security Council to counter Zionist aggression and protect the Palestinians from the continuous oppression by the Zionist regime. It is high time the Security Council called for the liberation of occupied Palestine, as the only genuine way to bring about justice, and for the dismantling of all Zionist settlements and the return of all Palestinian refugees to their homeland.

Following the massacre the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran issued a statement strongly condemning the savage crime which resulted in the martyrdom or injury of hundreds of Palestinian Muslims. The statement declared last Saturday a day of mourning to show the solidarity of the Iranian people with the Palestinians and its support for their struggle.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Ukraine. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Khandogy *(Ukraine) (interpretation from Russian):* At the outset, Sir, I wish on behalf of the Ukrainian delegation to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. We believe that your sterling qualities and your diplomatic experience will help you guide the work of the Council to success, on this as on other important items.

I also wish to express our appreciation to His Excellency the Permanent Representative of Djibouti, Ambassador Olhaye, for the able way in which he carried out his presidential duties last month.

We in Ukraine were shocked by the horrible crime committed at Hebron by a lone religious fanatic in the middle of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. As the Observer of Palestine reported to the Council, this resulted in the death of more than 50 civilians and the wounding of more than 200. The Government and the people of Ukraine condemn that senseless act and convey their heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families along with their hopes that the wounded may recover speedily.

This crime took place in Hebron at a moment when the icy distrust between Jews and Arabs was beginning to thaw and, slowly overcoming the centuries-old weight of alienation, mistrust and hostility, the two sides were beginning to establish new relations based on mutual recognition of each other's basic interests. The Ukraine welcomed the decision on mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and we also welcomed the historic Declaration of Principles, signed in Washington on 13 September 1993.

The Government of Ukraine would express the hope that this terrorist act by a religious fanatic will not wipe out those positive changes that have taken place in the Middle East since the signing of the Declaration of Principles between Israel and the PLO.

What happened in Hebron shows clearly how the seedlings of peace in the region are vulnerable to the acts of radical elements. The parties have already crossed one threshold, after which there can be no going back to the conditions that existed before, but they have not yet reached the next threshold, where the process of establishing and strengthening the trust between them becomes irreversible.

At this critical moment for peace in the Middle East an important role can and must be played by the United Nations. In our opinion, the time has come for the parties to be able to implement one of the provisions of the Declaration of Principles under which, with the consent of the parties, international or foreign observers would go to the occupied territories. Such a step would help guarantee the security of the Palestinians living in the occupied territories and at the same time would prevent the escalation of acts of hostility inspired by extremist radicals against the Arab and Jewish populations in those territories.

Ukraine notes the position taken by the Government of Israel, which condemned the events of 25 February and made a commitment to exercise strict control over the activities of radical groups in settlements in the occupied territories and to disarm them. In our opinion, this shows

the serious intentions of the Israeli side to achieve a restoration of peace in the region.

At the same time, the task of the international community is to confirm once again that the Government of Israel, as the occupying Power, bears full responsibility for ensuring protection for the Palestinians in the occupied territories in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and it is also obliged to carry out a full investigation of the circumstances surrounding this carnage.

The Government of Ukraine notes with regret that there has now been a break in the talks between Israel and the PLO. The process of peaceful settlement has been delayed. Emotions are being whipped up around a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue. The time has come for responsible decisions to be taken. Either the parties recognize that they are weak and unable to counter acts of provocation, even by a single individual, or else they demonstrate their political courage and their resolve to achieve peace by sitting down once again at the negotiating table to continue the difficult dialogue aimed at establishing a lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East which will finally break the cycle of violence and suffering in the region.

We are convinced that the decision to continue the peace process will be made. It should be noted that any delay in renewing the talks will play into the hands of the extremists who will see it as a green light to continue their terrorist acts intended to undermine the process of a Middle East settlement.

The delegation of the Ukraine would confirm its position on a comprehensive settlement of the conflict in the Middle East, the heart of which is the Palestinian problem, in the context of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which require respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination, and for the security of all States in the region, including the State of Israel.

The delegation of Ukraine expresses its conviction that the Security Council, following consideration of this item, will take effective measures to ensure the effective protection of the Palestinian population of all of the occupied territories.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Ukraine for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Hatano *(Japan):* First of all, Sir, I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are confident that with your well-known experience and excellent leadership qualities you will guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion. I also wish to pay special tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Olhaye of Djibouti, for the excellent job he did during his presidency last month.

The Government and people of Japan are shocked and profoundly disturbed by the recent massacre of innocent Palestinians in the mosque of Ibrahim in Hebron. The murder of people at prayer during this holy month of Ramadan is an act beneath contempt and deserving of universal condemnation.

Japan joins other members of the international community in extending its sincere condolences to the families of the victims at this time of grief.

It is essential that all the parties concerned exercise the utmost restraint to ensure that this latest act of violence will not spark another vicious circle of violence and retribution.

In this connection, we note that the Government of Israel has taken measures to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents, and that it has decided to establish a commission of inquiry. But it is important for Israel to take effective measures to guarantee the safety and protection of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

At this critical juncture of the Middle East peace process, we firmly believe that it is of the utmost importance to reaffirm support for the peace process and implementation of the Declaration of Principles.

The Middle East peace process has far-reaching implications for world peace and security. The agreement reached last September between the PLO and Israel was a historic breakthrough in that process. The tragedy that occurred in Hebron last week should not be permitted to undermine that achievement. In particular, we urge all the parties involved in the peace process not to let this incident drive them away from the negotiating table. Let us hope that they will be challenged to redouble their efforts to bring lasting peace to the Middle East.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Japan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is His Excellency Mr. Kéba Birane Cissé, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Cissé *(Senegal), Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (interpretation from French):* Firstly, Sir, in offering you our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March 1994, I wish to say that we are all convinced that your great experience and your diplomatic skills will help the Council to engage in successful deliberations.

I wish also to take this occasion to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Olhaye of Djibouti, for the exemplary way in which he guided the Council's work during the month of February.

Finally, I thank the members of the Council for having given me the opportunity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to participate in the Council's important debate on the situation in the occupied territory of Palestine.

On behalf of the Committee, I wish to express our strongest condemnation of the savage massacre that was perpetrated against innocent and unarmed Palestinian worshippers in the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi mosque, one of the sacred places of worship of the Islamic nations. That assault, which was committed against a congregation at prayer during the holy month of Ramadan, has shocked and saddened the entire world community and jeopardized the peace process which had generated so much hope only a few months ago. This act of violence should be seen by the international community as a consequence of the illegal Israeli policy of establishing settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, and of authorizing the proliferation of armed militias.

The establishment of settlements and the confiscation of land have continued under different governments despite the peace negotiations, creating a situation that will be increasingly difficult to resolve.

In recent months, violent activities by settlers have multiplied without hindrance by the army. While noting the measures already taken by the Israeli Government, the Committee is convinced that it is imperative that steps be taken to put an end to this kind of activity on the part of the settlers and to begin the process of dismantling the settlements in accordance with international law and numerous Security Council resolutions.

In the wake of this massacre, violence has spread elsewhere in the occupied Palestinian territory and clashes have been reported in Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which have again been placed under curfew. The Committee is seriously concerned at reports that Israeli troops have opened fire on Palestinian demonstrators. So far, 65 people have been killed and 350 have been injured.

The Committee wishes to remind the international community that as long as Israeli forces occupy the territory of Palestine, Israel bears full responsibility for the protection of Palestinians, as the occupying Power in accordance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949.

As members of the Council are aware, our Committee has repeatedly intervened before the Council in the past to appeal for urgent measures to restore respect for human rights in the occupied Palestinian territory and to secure an international role in ensuring the safety and protection of Palestinians living under occupation.

The Hebron massacre and subsequent events demonstrate once again the need for such measures. It is obvious that the process of reconciliation and the building of peace between the two peoples cannot be held hostage to the actions of armed elements and the repressive measures taken by the Israeli army, which only exacerbate the deep sense of frustration and the opposition to the occupation.

The Committee, therefore, fully supports the Palestinian requests for an international presence to be established in the occupied territory and for measures aimed at disarming the settlers and limiting their presence and activities in Palestinian towns and villages. The Committee urges the Security Council to take the necessary measures in this regard.

The Committee joins the vast majority of the international community in affirming support for the peace process currently under way and for the Declaration of Principle signed by the Government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization on 13 September 1993 in

Washington. It is clear, however, that the many delays in the implementation of the Declaration have eroded the credibility of the process and fuelled the atmosphere of violence and instability, which is fertile ground for extremism.

The Committee believes that only rapid and consistent progress in the current negotiations leading to the disengagement of Israeli forces and self-rule for Palestinians will prevent the present situation from deteriorating even further. The Committee calls on all concerned to do everything possible to surmount the current obstacles and to advance towards the full implementation of the agreements that have been reached.

This meeting of the Security Council indicates that the continuing deterioration of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories is of major concern to the members of the Council and to the international community as a whole. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People therefore hopes that this debate will culminate in a clear demonstration of the Council's determination to find ways and means to reestablish the necessary sense of security for the Palestinian civilian population. The international community must assist the parties in proceeding rapidly along the road towards a negotiated peace which they have together embarked upon -the only road which can assure a lasting peace in the region.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Mauritania. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud *(Mauritania) (interpretation from French):* My delegation is pleased to see the representative of a friendly country with which the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has excellent relations of cooperation presiding over the Security Council for the month of March 1994. France's constant efforts to preserve international peace and security and to promote human rights are widely recognized.

I am familiar with your personal qualities, Sir, and I know how effectively you have presided over the work of this Council in the past. I am therefore convinced that our work will proceed under the best possible conditions.

I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Roble Olhaye of Djibouti, for having so ably and perceptively presided over the Security Council last month, and in particular for his conduct of the debate on the massacre of Bosnian civilians at the Sarajevo market following the Serbian bombardment of 5 February 1994.

We also congratulate our Secretary-General, whose response to the carnage at the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi mosque is a credit to the United Nations, and is in line with all the appeals to save the peace process begun in Madrid in 1991 and to speed up implementation of the provisions of the Washington agreement of 13 September last.

If the purpose of holding a debate is to permit an exchange of views and analyses in order to discuss an issue conscientiously and responsibly, to enable a body to seek the truth or to enable two parties to state their positions, then we could have dispensed with this debate, for we all know the facts. We all know who perpetrated this latest massacre.

It is all the more disturbing that the horrible carnage of Friday, 25 February, at Al-Khalil was committed against worshippers in a holy place; it was a massacre of unarmed, innocent people praying within the mosque during a month which is holy for more than a billion people and on a day that is also holy. The death toll of that atrocity is abhorrent to every human being. It is deeply disturbing to all Muslims; it is shocking to the Arab people; and it encourages all kinds of extremists.

The responsibility for this double crime cannot be shared. It was the work of Israeli extremists and the consequence of a situation which allows civilian settlers to be armed and to patrol the roads in occupied Arab territories. Otherwise, how could a doctor, known for his hostility to the peace process and wearing an officer's uniform, have entered without difficulty a holy place which is permanently guarded by the Israeli army and police, and in just a few moments kill more than 50 people and wound scores of others?

The Mauritanian delegation fully endorses the statements made by the Chairman of the Arab Group and the Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference group, Ambassador Nabil Elaraby of Egypt and Ambassador Marker of Pakistan. We would add that we fervently hope that in the face of the carnage at the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi mosque, an event of enormous gravity which could torpedo hopes for peace, which is so

precious, the international community will shoulder its full responsibilities.

In this connection, given its special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council must act resolutely and must urgently take clear, firm, concrete measures strongly condemning the perpetrators of this new, abominable act of violence and guaranteeing the protection of civilian populations, in keeping with the Fourth Geneva Convention.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Mauritania for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rahman *(Bangladesh)*: Let me express at the outset, Sir, our felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are confident that under your able leadership the work of the Council will prosper.

I should also like to pay warm tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Olhaye, the Permanent Representative of Djibouti, for his successful conduct of the Council's affairs in February.

The massacre in the Al-Ibrahimi mosque in Al--Khalil, Hebron, has fuelled anger, anguish and shock. We condemn this heinous act. We express our deepest sympathy to the bereaved families of the innocent victims of this senseless tragedy.

Bangladesh is party to, and fully endorses, the statements of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and Non-Aligned Movement member States that, *inter alia*, urged the immediate convening of the Council. We believe that the Council's focus must be directed to two crucial elements: first, to affix responsibility, and, secondly, to take purposeful remedial action.

Whether the massacre was the insane act of a lone religious fanatic or carried out in conspiracy and collusion with others is not the question. The responsibility for protecting the Palestinian population and for anticipating and preventing such acts lies squarely upon the occupying Power under the Fourth Geneva Convention, which extends to all occupied Palestinian territories and of which Al-Quds Al-Sharif, Holy Jerusalem, is an integral part.

In the volatile situation prevailing in the occupied territories, and in the face of repeated outcries that such protection was absent and needed to be supplemented by an international presence, the horror in Al-Khalil represents yet another major lapse. The encroachment of militant settlers, their indiscriminate arming without any check and the encouragement of their increased presence was an invitation to inevitable violence. Remedial measures instituted by the Government of Israel following the 25 February act appear merely to paper the cracks. The policy of repression against the Palestinians continues, as evidenced by the subsequent deaths and the mounting numbers of those injured and wounded. The issue is tangible protection and the prevention of any recurrence of such atrocities. Any solution must address the real issues and not merely return to the status quo ante.

The Council has a bounden responsibility to take further action in the light of its past pronouncements and of the maintenance of its credibility in upholding international law. Bangladesh fully supports the call for a resolution that will address the root causes affecting the occupied territories, particularly the issue of disarming the settlers and ultimately - and expeditiously - dismantling the settlements.

The Secretary-General's offer to send United Nations observers appeared to be a step in the right direction. It was in conformity with the Declaration of Principles signed by the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel in Washington on 13 September 1993 and with Security Council resolutions. We firmly believe that the need for a direct international presence in the occupied territories to ensure protection has become a pressing imperative.

The international community has welcomed the peace process that has been initiated as the first step towards a comprehensive and durable settlement of the Middle East problem. The acid test for promoting this process is squarely to anticipate and overcome the actions perpetrated by those bent on derailing it. Half-hearted measures cannot create confidence; they can only set back the real hopes that have been generated by the peace process.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Bangladesh for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Bahrain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Al-Faihani *(Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic):* At the outset, Sir, I should like to extend to you warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I would also express the hope that your efforts to maintain international peace and security will succeed.

I should like also to thank Ambassador Roble Olhaye, the Permanent Representative of Djibouti, for the tireless efforts he deployed during his leadership of the work of the Council during the past month.

My warm congratulations go to Argentina, the Czech Republic, Nigeria, the Sultanate of Oman and Rwanda on their accession to membership in the Council. We wish them success in their tasks.

Since the end of the past week, the Security Council has been discussing the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories resulting from the terrorist act committed by the fanatic Israeli settlers against defenceless Palestinian worshippers in the holy shrine of Abraham, which resulted in carnage that claimed the lives of many innocent people. We consider that the massacre was one of the most heinous crimes perpetrated against Palestinian civilians since the beginning of Israeli occupation, in 1967.

This odious crime was committed without heed to the sanctity that the month of Ramadan holds for Muslims and in contempt for the holiness of the place. We believe that it was the direct result of the illegal Israeli settlements and of the arms and support the settlers have been given in flagrant violation of international law, in particular the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

The situation in the occupied Palestinian territories continues to deteriorate in the wake of this terrorist act. As a result, the Council is called upon urgently to take a firm stand in order to revitalize the peace process that is now under way. In my delegation's view, this can come about only if the following steps are taken: firstly, the Israeli settlers must be disarmed; secondly, settlement activity must be banned throughout the occupied territories, including Jerusalem; thirdly, an appropriate mechanism must be established to implement the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War; and, fourthly, an international commission should be dispatched to investigate the massacre. In that connection, appropriate measures must be taken to enable the commission to carry out its mandate, in keeping with resolution No. 5362 of the League of Arab States, adopted on 27 February 1994.

In the statement adopted by my Foreign Ministry on 26 February 1994, Bahrain condemned and expressed outrage at the heinous crime and odious carnage committed by the Zionist settlers against a group of Palestinians who were saying the dawn prayer in the shrine of Abraham in occupied Hebron - a massacre in which scores lost their lives and hundreds were injured. Indeed, we consider it a terrorist act, and we hold the Israeli Government and its agents fully responsible for such practices by the settlers, which contravene all international laws, norms and conventions and threaten the process of achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace in the region.

We call on the international community and the Security Council, especially its permanent members, to live up to their responsibilities in respect of this act by not merely denouncing and condemning, but by providing safety and protection for the Palestinian people and by guaranteeing its right to establish its own independent State on its own national territory.

Finally, the tragedy that now faces the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, demands that the international community take a firm stand and provide effective international protection. We believe that the provision of such protection would help make the peace process a success and would lessen the current tension in the region.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Bahrain for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sacirbey *(Bosnia and Herzegovina):* Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your accession to another term as President of the Security Council. Your past experience in this role gives our delegation the utmost confidence that this body will be wisely guided. Allow me also to extend to the Permanent Representative of Djibouti our delegation's sincere acclaim on his responsible guidance of the Security Council last month, a month marked by new lows in terrorism directed towards murdering innocents and sabotaging peace. In the face of the terrorist shelling of afternoon shoppers in Markele marketplace in Sarajevo and the terrorist massacre of peaceful worshippers at the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi mosque in Hebron, both of which challenged the Security Council's dignity and authority while shocking the conscience of all peace-loving peoples, the Security Council

was led, in the most skilful manner, to rise to the occasion and meet those affronts.

These events demonstrate, in the most obvious fashion, the necessity of confronting ultranationalistic chauvinism and violence with steps that negate the ability of terrorists to carry out such barbarities. As proved by the experience of my country, ultranationalistic terrorism must be resolutely confronted or it will only gain in strength. When the perpetrators are confronted, their brazenness in waging terrorism is checked.

However, terrorism can re-emerge if resolute measures are not maintained with vigilance. Any failure to check terrorist acts can serve only to undermine the credibility of any peace process. The bullets used in this terrorist attack were fired not only at innocent Palestinian worshippers, but at the peace process as well.

My Government calls upon the relevant Israeli authorities to take all necessary measures to protect Palestinians in the occupied territories, consistent with relevant Security Council resolutions and the Fourth Geneva Convention. We welcome the Israeli Government's swift and unreserved denunciation of this terrorist attack and welcome those measures that have been taken to disarm known extremists and potential terrorists.

However, we must emphasize that if Israel's commitment to peace is to be fully realized more can and should be done to ensure the safety of all inhabitants of the region. It is of concern that dangerous signals continue to emanate from extremist elements. In this regard, Israel has the clear responsibility to disarm and/or withdraw all elements that may threaten peace and abridge the rights of the civilian population.

We welcome the new presence of international observers as a stabilizing force. We would also welcome dialogue and confidence-building measures that address all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the underlying causes. Promptly tackling the issues - including the settlements question - on a comprehensive basis is essential.

Allow me to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to extend our heartfelt condolences to the families of the slain worshippers, murdered by an individual bent on hate and the continuation of violence. We hope that peace and freedom, for which these worshippers were praying, will soon become a reality.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on my list. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue its consideration of the item will be fixed in consultations with the members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3343rd Meeting
Friday, 4 March 1994, 11 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(*France*)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

Letter dated 22 February 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/240)

94-85240 (E)

This record is subject to correction. Correction should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

Letter dated 22 February 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/240)

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the letter dated 22 February 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/240).

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/252, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from French*): The draft resolution has received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 899 (1994).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11.05 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3344

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3344th Meeting

Friday, 4 March 1994, 6.35 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	*(France)*
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Walker

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

94-85246 (E)

This record is subject to correction. Correction should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 6.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President *(interpretation from French):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/224, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/216, letter dated 24 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/221, letter dated 24 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1994/249, letter dated 3 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 3 March 1994 from the Permanent Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General. That letter, together with its enclosure, will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1994/255.

The first speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on whom I now call.

Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina): If I have not had a chance personally to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the new position you have undertaken, let me now wish you all the best. Let me also thank the Permanent Representative of Djibouti for his able leadership last month, when so many important issues came before the Security Council.

For the first time since the aggression and genocide against our Republic was initiated, there is a sense of optimism that we may have finally begun to reverse the long and unfortunate trend of aggression and the legitimization of the consequences of such aggression. In this context, three recent developments have been especially critical. They have borne out the importance of confronting aggression resolutely and of stemming those forces and trends of fragmentation in favour of a return to pluralism, multiculturalism and reintegration. At the same time, we must be extremely careful not to slide back into the old, discredited behaviour and options for resolving this problem. There are signs that the Serbian forces are testing our resolve and our commitment to previous measures designed to bring peace.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ultimatum to the Serbian forces besieging Sarajevo, designed to, at least in part, bring about the implementation of Security Council resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993), stopped the shelling of Sarajevo. The current draft resolution should move towards the full implementation of those resolutions in regard to Sarajevo by, first, the full withdrawal of Serbian forces - to quote resolution 824 (1993) -

> "to a distance wherefrom they cease to constitute a menace to [its] security and that of [its] inhabitants" *(resolution 824 (1993), para. 4 (a));*

secondly, the full lifting of the road blocks of Serbian forces impeding access to the city; and, thirdly, the restoration of essential services to the city and its population.

Clearly, allowing the status quo to continue and using the forces of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), from whichever country they may originate, to interject themselves between besieging Serbian forces and the defenders are not consistent with the aims of lifting the siege or maintaining the unity of this multicultural symbol or with resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993).

Before we even move ahead with the implementation of this draft resolution, those who have the responsibility of liberating the city from shelling must now take steps to stop the increasing shelling and sniping and other violations of the Sarajevo exclusion zone that are increasingly testing the resolve of the United Nations and NATO.

Finally, we must be fully honest with ourselves. Unless the current draft resolution is correctly implemented in order to lift the blockade of Sarajevo and remove Serbian checkpoints that are impeding movement, Sarajevo will remain under siege. In effect, the partial implementation of this draft resolution, as well as of resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993), will make UNPROFOR and the Security Council unwitting parties to the institutionalization of the siege of Sarajevo.

The second development giving us hope is the recent confrontation by NATO planes enforcing the United Nations no-fly zone over our Republic with Serbian planes that had invaded our airspace. Unfortunately, though, Serbian invasions of our airspace in violation of the no-fly zone have been too frequent - indeed, almost daily occurrences. On the other hand, this appropriate response on the part of NATO planes was unique and came only after the Serbian planes had ignored numerous warnings and dared to carry out a bombing attack against one of our towns, in full view of NATO planes. Clearly, the arrogance had been reinforced by the sense that the NATO planes enforcing the no-fly zone would not respond this time and, therefore, that the provocation would not be met with the appropriate resolve. Still, we must thank those countries, and in particular the United States, that finally took the position of intercepting these violators and that placed their citizens at risk.

The third development that signals a positive step may be the most critical. It is the long-sought agreement between the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosnian Croat elements. This agreement certainly brings to an end an unnatural combat between victims of fascism. It also establishes close cooperation - that is, a confederational agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as a federation within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

But most critical of all is the fact that this agreement reverses the long and ill-advised approach to negotiation that seeks solutions on the basis of ethnic division, fragmentation and even appeasement. This agreement and the very helpful role played by the United States Government and certain European Union members should signal an end to at least some of the discredited policies of the past. It also follows the logical road to peace that emphasizes solutions based upon the legitimization and encouragement of moderate and tolerant elements.

The road to peace cannot be based on new, arbitrary lines drawn on maps which divide what has not been segregated in the past. Instead, the road to peace is most simply to pave the way for a return to a centuries-old formula for success in Bosnia and Herzegovina - that is, tolerance, pluralism, multiculturalism and open societies. This not only has been a successful formula for coexistence but, in fact, has been successful in terms of our prosperity and development as a society. We now call upon those Serbs who have found themselves on the other side of an arbitrary line and who are free of war crimes to join us on this natural road to peace, a return to our proven formulas of success.

Unfortunately, while we are speaking here of potential options for peace, there are clear threats that will send us tumbling back to the labyrinth of despair. Serbian forces have not chosen as yet to walk the path of peace; rather, they have increasingly used the focus on Sarajevo and a continuing lack of will by the international Powers to confront them to launch new attacks on Brcko, Bihac, Maglaj and Usora. They have reinvigorated campaigns of terror, rape, torture, murder, "ethnic cleansing" and genocide in areas they now attack as well as occupy. Civilians in Banja Luka are exposed to daily Serbian terror and many are expelled. If the Council wishes to maintain any semblance of progress, it must respond promptly and resolutely to the plight of those whom the Serbians consider to be fair game because they do not appear on the television screens or in the newspapers.

Finally, we must add that the Serbians are encouraged in their cowardly and aggressive actions by certain attempts to legitimize the fascist philosophy in their control of occupied territories. This has even reached capitals of certain members of this noble body and this Council Chamber.

The Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina welcomes the assistance of all Governments in trying to bring peace. However, we will not feel bound by any agreements reached between the brutal force occupying our country and members of this Council unless such agreements are consistent with our status as a Member of the United Nations and with our sovereignty and territorial integrity. The latter principle has to be the basis for the implementation of the present draft resolution as well as any further endeavours to bring about a solution.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): Pakistan has consistently advocated the need to act decisively and resolutely in order to halt and reverse aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is necessary for reaching a just, equitable and durable solution of the tragedy in that country.

We therefore welcomed the decision taken by the North Atlantic Council on 9 February 1994, giving a credible ultimatum to the Serbs to remove their heavy weaponry from the Sarajevo exclusion zone and to lift the siege of Sarajevo or to face punitive air strikes.

We note also with a degree of satisfaction that as a result of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ultimatum, progress has been achieved in securing a partial withdrawal of Serbian heavy weaponry from some areas around Sarajevo and the consequent saving of innocent lives in that besieged city.

We are, however, concerned that the Serbs have once again begun to defy the will of the international community by persisting with the siege of Sarajevo and refusing to remove all their heavy weaponry from certain locations around the city. The international community should not become complacent and must not relent in its resolve to secure the safety and security of the civilian population in all designated "safe areas" and other threatened towns and cities in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We note with satisfaction the recent exemplary action taken with regard to the implementation of Security Council resolution 781 (1992) concerning the no-fly zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

An official statement issued by the Government of Pakistan on 28 February 1994 emphasizes that the momentum generated by the success of the ultimatum for the Sarajevo area must not be lost and that the United Nations must now urgently take the necessary political, diplomatic and military steps required to bring a cessation of hostilities all over Bosnia and to further the peace process. It welcomes the cease-fire agreed upon by the Bosnian Government and the Croats on 23 February and the commencement in Washington of talks on the formation of a unified Bosnia comprising Muslim and Croat areas. The statement expresses appreciation for the vital part played by the Russian Federation in persuading the Serbs to agree to the terms of the NATO ultimatum and underlines the fact that Russia has a key role in the peaceful settlement of the Bosnian conflict and that it will use its influence in a constructive manner.

Although we would have preferred a stronger and more comprehensive text to the draft resolution, somewhat on the lines originally envisaged and drafted, we nevertheless feel that the draft resolution before the Council adequately portrays the evolution of the situation after the 9 February ultimatum. It reflects the determination of the international community to secure the effective lifting of the siege of Sarajevo, including the restoration of essential services and a return to normal life, in accordance with the objectives set forth in Security Council resolution 824 (1993). In our view, the draft resolution could have been reinforced by a reference to the threat of air strikes, in the event the aggressors resume bombardment of Sarajevo or redeploy their heavy weaponry in the exclusion zone.

With the adoption of this draft resolution, the Security Council will be setting in motion a process which could lead to the effective lifting of the siege of Sarajevo. It should lead to a mechanism to secure protection of other safe areas and threatened towns such as Maglaj, Mostar and Vitez.

We therefore express the hope that this draft resolution will become an important instrument to consolidate and

expand the initial positive trends emerging in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes the darkest chapter in contemporary history. The appalling apathy of the international community in responding to aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina has caused unfathomable human suffering. But the brave and determined people of that beleaguered country have not relented in their resolve to stand firm against the aggression and to reject any unjust dispensation at gunpoint. The international community must, therefore, demonstrate its resolve to arrive at a just and lasting solution to the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina by taking all appropriate measures to reverse the consequences of aggression against that country. All lands seized by the use of force and "ethnic cleansing" must be returned. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be restored and respected.

Sarajevo will always remain as a shining symbol of the indomitable human spirit of resistance against aggression and of determination to live in freedom no matter what the odds. For months the valiant people of Sarajevo have endured every form of terror and privation that has been visited upon them by a ruthless enemy, bent on breaking their will through shellfire and strangulation. Sarajevo's heroism under prolonged siege has been an inspiration to the entire world. By adopting the draft resolution before us today, we shall be not only signalling our acknowledgement of the heroism of Sarajevo, but are also taking the first small step towards the establishment of a just and lasting peace in a region that has suffered from the most outrageous cruelties perpetrated in recent history. My delegation firmly believes that all peace proposals and initiatives must conform to the principles contained in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and those enunciated by the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): Let me convey to you, Sir, the courtesies of the Nigerian delegation on your assumption of the office of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. By the same token, we should like to express our appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Djibouti, Ambassador Olhaye, for the effective manner in which he carried out his duties during the month of February.

Since the outrageous incident of the shelling of the marketplace in Sarajevo on 5 February, international attention has become more focussed on developments in that city. On the positive side, however, developments have occurred which enhance the prospects of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In particular, it has been a considerable relief that the cease-fire has held in Sarajevo and that incidents of sniper fire have diminished.

The cooperation between the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), demonstrated in this instance, portends well for international cooperation between our Organization and regional organizations or arrangements in an effort to promote international peace and security.

There are, however, other developments which are not so positive and which continue to give cause for serious concern. The cease-fire may have been observed so far, but the siege of Sarajevo has yet to be lifted and the supply of electricity and water and other essential public services are still disrupted.

Secondly, we are concerned that some of the heavy weapons in the exclusion zone are still not fully under the control of UNPROFOR. Furthermore, an attempt was made recently by one of the parties to remove some of the weapons that have been placed under UNPROFOR control in the exclusion zone. That same party has also tried to limit the number of UNPROFOR personnel and vehicles stationed at the weapon-collection sites.

Thirdly, and of more serious concern, is the continuation and, in some cases, escalation of attacks in other towns and "safe areas", such as Maglaj, Mostar and Vitez. My delegation feels that it is important for the Security Council to reaffirm its commitment to ensuring the implementation of its earlier resolutions, in particular the desirable objective of an end to the siege of Sarajevo to enable the restoration of normal life.

These measures will certainly be crucial in confidence-building and advancing the cause of peace in Bosnia. We see merit in the decision to request the Secretary-General to appoint a senior civilian official who would be entrusted with appropriate authority to assist in the restoration of public utilities and services in Sarajevo, as well as in carrying forward the purposes of UNPROFOR.

During the debate on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina here on 14 February, my delegation stated that protection of Sarajevo was only one part of the wider problem of ensuring the safety and protection of the country, especially from "ethnic cleansing" and occupation

by force. We stressed the need for the international community to take urgent action to protect those areas in Bosnia, in particular those which have been designated as safe havens. We therefore fully support the request for the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the modalities of ensuring the safety and protection of those areas.

The result of "ethnic cleansing" and forced displacement of peoples from their homes should be neither condoned nor accepted. We welcome, therefore, the application of the relevant provisions of the pertinent resolutions to enable the early return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes.

It is quite clear that, when the international community is firm in its resolve, a lot can be achieved. The firm determination of the international community over Sarajevo in the past few weeks has created a window of opportunity which should be exploited to advantage in the settlement of the problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The draft resolution before the Council represents a step in efforts to find a lasting political settlement to the Bosnian conflict. My delegation will therefore vote in its favour.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): Let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assuming the presidency for the month. You have navigated us through the first few days of this month with such deftness and *élan*, such a voracious appetite for work, that you will no doubt dispose of all the remaining issues the Council is facing by mid-March.

Let me also thank and congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Olhaye of Djibouti, who discovered that the shortest month of the year means anything but the least busy month. He amply demonstrated his diplomatic skills and led us is doing a great deal of work indeed.

Mr. President, one of the outstanding achievements of your predecessor was the marathon session we held under his stewardship, during which we reflected upon the aftermath of the Sarajevo marketplace massacre of 5 February. Today we are discussing matters concerning Sarajevo, amongst others, yet again. The difference is this: last month we were mostly looking back, condemning what had happened. This month we are looking forward, thrilled that the steps which the international community has taken since that fateful Saturday of barely a month ago have yielded important results. It appears that the people of Sarajevo have come to enjoy their winter: they are taking in fresh air which is no longer polluted by the stench of gunpowder.

Fresh air is free, and enjoying the snow is effortless. The people of Sarajevo are, however, far from living a normal life. The city lacks basic amenities: medical facilities, reliable water, fuel of all kinds, electricity, disposal of garbage, upkeep of city streets. Sarajevans themselves have compared their life to life in a giant detention camp. They can move about the city, or at least around parts of it, with less fear than they could a month ago. Nevertheless, there is a world of difference between free movement around Sarajevo and free movement *per se*.

Our draft resolution today is directed at capitalizing on the February successes that the international community has had in stanching the blood-letting. As every toddler learning to walk finds out, one successful step requires another or the baby will fall. Our draft resolution is aimed at making that additional step, maybe even two. It aims at restoring even more normalcy to the life of Sarajevo by calling for freedom of movement to be restored, about the city and into and out of the city. Sarajevo must shed its detention-camp-like atmosphere.

Our draft resolution, furthermore, requests that a senior civil official be appointed to act, in effect, as an administrative officer for the city, to help figure out how essential city services can be restored and then to help actually restore them - working all along hand in hand with the Government of the country, the mayor of Sarajevo and the local administration of its 10 districts. He will benefit from the work done the joint civil mission that the United States and the United Kingdom are about to dispatch to the city to assess what is needed.

Whatever is needed will have to financed. In our draft resolution, we therefore invite the Secretary-General to establish a voluntary trust fund for this purpose. The Czech Republic has already stated its determination to help restore amenities in Sarajevo, and I trust that our authorities will find the trust fund a useful vehicle for doing so.

During our debates last month, a number of speakers expressed their apprehension lest Sarajevo be singled out for special treatment and the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina be forgotten. Our draft resolution today demonstrates that the rest of the country has indeed not been forgotten. It takes for granted that the rotation of UNPROFOR troops in Srebrenica will go ahead as planned

and that Tuzla airport, long a difficult bone of contention, will also be opened up for humanitarian efforts, as envisaged earlier.

Moreover, the draft resolution focuses on three other cities: Mostar, which last month's discussion highlighted as a prime candidate for "safe area" status; Vitez, a Croatian enclave in central Bosnia which has been the target of Bosnian Government military efforts in recent weeks; and Maglaj, a predominantly Muslim community besieged by the Serbian party and desperately suffering. As for Maglaj, it would be tragically ironic if the Serbian party managed to break through its defences with the very weapons it has redeployed from around Sarajevo, which is what they are apparently trying to do, according to a recent letter from Bosnia's President Izetbegovic.

Our draft resolution requests the Secretary-General to report on whether and how these three cities could also be afforded the protection envisaged in resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993). It is particularly gratifying in this connection that the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Croat party have recently signed a peace accord in Zagreb which might make the implementation of such protection all the more feasible, at least in Mostar and Vitez, and that these two parties, plus the Croatian Government, have in recent days embarked on even farther-reaching plans for constitutionally linking their respective territories and countries.

Several warning points have to be made in this context however.

First, we have already declared as safe areas not one city, Sarajevo; not three cities mentioned in the preamble to today's draft resolution - namely, Sarajevo, Tuzla and Srebrenica; but six cities, including also Zepa, Gorazde and Bihac. In capitalizing on the Sarajevo success, we have to pay great heed to seeing that these earlier commitments of ours are met as well, especially since we are receiving very disquieting news about attacks having been renewed on some of them just as soon as they fade from the limelight.

Secondly, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is already stretched quite thin, especially with additional troops having been seconded to Sarajevo. I am proud to announce this evening that the Czech Republic is doubling the size of its UNPROFOR unit even as we speak. Moreover, we have every reason to expect that a part of this unit will be redeployed to Bosnia and Herzegovina very soon indeed. We still feel it important, though, that the size of UNPROFOR be commensurate to the tasks the Security Council gives it.

Thirdly, while the draft resolution welcomes the significant developments in peace negotiations between the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bosnian Croats and the Croatian Government, there still remains the vexing issue of the involvement of troops of the Republic of Croatia - the HVO - in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Czech Republic finds such involvement unacceptable under any circumstances and rejects any attempts to link their withdrawal with the political process under way, welcome though this political process is. These troops must leave, as demanded in the presidential statement your predecessor, Sir, issued last month.

In closing, let me thank you, Mr. President, and your delegation for the strenuous efforts you have made in ushering this draft resolution through. It was a complex task, as you know best. For our part, we feel a certain disappointment that in order for it to be adopted - as we hope it will be - it had to be watered down. It takes unambiguous and clear-cut determination to attain success in negotiations and on the ground, and we are not quite sure that the Security Council is demonstrating such determination amply enough.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Yañez Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* My delegation is especially pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over our work. I wish to assure you of our full cooperation so that the Council can complete the numerous tasks before it this month.

Allow me also to express our gratitude to Ambassador Olhaye of Djibouti for the efficient work carried out under his presidency during February.

For the last two weeks Sarajevo has found itself no longer subjected to the incessant bombardments that until recently tormented it. The withdrawal of artillery pieces from the city and from around it, or their placement under United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) control, has opened the door to peace for the city's inhabitants. For the first time a glimmer of light can be seen in the long tunnel of war that has afflicted Bosnia and Herzegovina for almost two years. Our primary objectives continue to be to consolidate the progress made to date, preserve the cease-fire and proceed to the definitive silencing of the

weapons poised for battle. For their attainment, both parties must cooperate with UNPROFOR fully and in good faith.

In support of UNPROFOR, in view of the possibility that one side or the other might waver, the States members of the Atlantic Alliance remain steadfast in their decision of 9 February last, taken in conformity with Security Council resolutions 824 (1993), 836 (1993) and 844 (1993). In order to protect the civilian population, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is still prepared to use air power, in coordination with the Secretary-General, if Sarajevo is bombarded anew or if there is non-compliance with the ways envisaged for the demilitarization of the city and its environs.

Silencing the weapons is not enough. We must continue moving ahead until the siege of Sarajevo is lifted. That is the main objective of the draft resolution the Council is about to adopt. Stemming from a French initiative and taking shape in a draft sponsored by the European Union countries of France, the United Kingdom and Spain, along with the United States and the Russian Federation, it calls for the earliest possible return of normal life to Sarajevo, with complete freedom of movement for humanitarian aid and for the civilian population. With the same objective, it requests the appointment of a senior United Nations official to foster the restoration of essential public services, in conjunction with the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in coordination with the competent local authorities.

The recent initiative of the United States and the United Kingdom on sending a joint mission of civilian experts to Sarajevo to evaluate requirements on the ground and the draft resolution's invitation to the Secretary-General to establish a voluntary trust fund will also contribute to Sarajevo's regaining some semblance of normal life. In any case, it is extremely important for Sarajevo to conserve, as a unified city, its centuries-old character as a centre of multicultural, multi-ethnic and pluri-religious coexistence.

As we stated earlier, it is not enough to save Sarajevo, or what remains of the city. We are particularly concerned about the situation in other safe areas, such as Srebrenica and Tuzla. In the former, the rotation of the UNPROFOR contingent must be completed as soon as possible, while in the latter the airport must be reopened to facilitate the flow of humanitarian aid to Tuzla and the region.

We also find worrisome the situation of the civilian population, be it Muslim, Croat or Serb, in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in communities such as Maglaj, which has recently been subjected to attacks, and Vitez, not to mention the tragedy of Mostar, to which we are highly sensitive since a Spanish battalion is serving in UNPROFOR in that area.

We trust that the Secretary-General will report to us as soon as possible on the viability of applying the concept of safe areas to those cities and the ways to make it effective so that they can finally be free of armed attacks or other hostile actions of any type.

Some recent, important achievements deriving from initiatives of prominent members of the international community are given coherent shape in the draft resolution. The agreement reached in Moscow with the Bosnian Serbs on reopening Tuzla airport, and, especially, the agreements reached in Washington between the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bosnian Croats and the Government of the Republic of Croatia, in an effort that we hope will soon also embrace the Bosnian Serbs, are worthy steps in the quest for an early end to the conflict.

Now, more than ever, we must relax our efforts. We shall succeed to the degree that we remain united, as we hope will be the case in the adoption of the draft resolution before us. Our actions must be coordinated, and we believe the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia is the proper framework for that. Above all, the parties in conflict must make the necessary effort, for at the end of the day they have the last word on the achievement of peace. Only in this way - through the parties' showing greater flexibility and through the coordinated efforts of the international organizations and the countries with influence in the region - will it be possible to attain the peace we all desire for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/224.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan,

Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 900 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements after the voting.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I begin by congratulating you on the assumption of your office and thanking your predecessor for his remarkable services to the Council during the month of February.

The adoption of this resolution, which my delegation co-sponsored and strongly supports, comes at a time when, for almost the first occasion since this tragic conflict broke out, there have been a number of positive developments on the ground in Bosnia. The cease-fires in Sarajevo and along the Croat/Muslim confrontation lines in central Bosnia are for the most part being observed. Heavy weapons have been either withdrawn from around Sarajevo or put under United Nations control. We pay tribute to the efforts of the United Nations - in particular, those of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and his military commanders - in having seized this opportunity to make substantial progress. We also welcome the active United States and Russian involvement, both in the peace process and on the ground. We particularly welcome the progress made by the United States in securing a Croat/Muslim agreement as a vital step towards reaching an overall settlement, and we fully support their continuing efforts to this end.

It is vital that efforts now be made to build on the progress achieved so far. Conditions in Sarajevo are better than they have been for many months, but that is not yet saying very much. The people themselves are beginning to see that peace and stability can be re-established. But they cannot, by themselves, create the conditions for normal life and reconstruction. The United Nations is already engaged in vital work on the ground, but huge problems remain to be overcome. My delegation therefore strongly supports the appointment of a senior United Nations civilian official to harness all efforts to this end, and to draw up an action plan for the restoration of essential public services to Sarajevo. As part of an international effort to restore normal life to Sarajevo, my Government, together with the Government of the United States, have already announced their intention to send immediately a joint civil mission to Sarajevo. Working with the Bosnian Government, with the Sarajevo city authorities, the United Nations and the European Union, this mission will assess the priority requirements for the restoration of public utilities. But re-establishing normal life in Sarajevo will require the active involvement of the international community as a whole, and it is in this context that my delegation also supports the establishment of a voluntary trust fund to finance projects designed to bring about a return to normal life in Sarajevo. We hope that all members of the international community will contribute generously towards this work.

It is important also to build on recent achievements and to make progress elsewhere in Bosnia. We support the United Nations plans to press ahead with the rotation of United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops in Zepa, and to reopen Tuzla airport. In this context, we welcome the Russian initiative to persuade the Bosnian Serbs to co-operate fully with UNPROFOR to this end. My Government stands ready to provide practical assistance to the running of the airport for humanitarian flights.

We also look forward to the Secretary-General's report on the feasibility of protection for, and access for humanitarian convoys to, the besieged area of Maglaj. Mostar and Vitez have suffered greatly, too, and will be covered in that report. UNPROFOR's intention to monitor the Croat/Muslim cease-fire in central Bosnia is another necessary step towards the de-escalation of the conflict.

In the Council's addressing each of these individual issues, it is important that it should not lose sight of the overall goal of securing a durable political settlement. Efforts must be intensified towards that end. Now is the moment for all concerned - in particular, the parties themselves - to participate actively and constructively in a peace process which has recently been re-invigorated by the strengthened support of the United States and the Russian Federation.

Mr. Ricardes (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first, Mr. President, to congratulate you on assuming very important responsibilities for the month of March, and to assure you of our fullest cooperation.

I should also like to express our appreciation for the excellent job done by the Permanent Representative of Djibouti last month.

The Argentine Republic voted in favour of the important proposal in the resolution we have just adopted. Referring basically to the situation in Sarajevo, it is aimed at ensuring that essential public services in that city are immediately re-established and that as a result normal life is restored to its inhabitants.

Recent reports from the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) confirm in essence the neutralization, withdrawal or ceding of control over heavy weapons in and around Sarajevo, as well as continuing adherence to the cease-fire. In this context, the resolution is aimed at consolidating that situation. It is based on respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the appointment of a senior civilian official, who will act under the authority of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the former Yugoslavia, the Security Council wishes to strengthen and give greater stability to the improvements in the situation on the ground throughout the Sarajevo area. Because of its importance, this step will be seen as a substantial contribution towards bringing about a comprehensive settlement of the conflict at the negotiating table.

We place particular emphasis on the need for respect for all the norms of international humanitarian law. We again appeal to all parties to abide by them, since violations of fundamental aspects have already presented the world with terrible consequences, for which those responsible will have to answer.

Another major aspect of the resolution is its call upon the parties to allow complete freedom of movement to and from Sarajevo, which would be tantamount to lifting the siege of that city. That is the unanimous demand made by the international community.

I should like to conclude again appealing, on behalf of the Argentine Republic, to all the parties to make every effort to achieve a just and lasting settlement in the negotiations under way. We believe there is now an opportunity in international affairs to give added thrust to dialogue and the negotiations. We must not lose this opportunity.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Walker (United States of America): Let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the very difficult office of President; we pledge you our full support. May I also thank your predecessor, the representative of Djibouti, for his successful efforts to guide the Council through a very difficult month.

The United States was happy to co-sponsor the resolution just adopted, which we believe represents an important step towards our common goal of restoring normalcy to the lives of the people of Sarajevo and easing the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia. While we cannot support attempts to impose a solution for Sarajevo, we believe that easing the suffering of the civilian population there will be a significant step towards peace.

Over the course of this conflict, we have continued to support negotiations between the sides that would lead to a just and viable settlement freely agreed to by all the parties. At the same time, we have continued to do what we could to alleviate humanitarian suffering in Bosnia. These objectives will remain the basis of our policy.

The United States continues to believe that the Bosnian crisis can be settled only at the negotiating table. A number of recent developments allow us to hope that we have, at the very least, taken some steps in that direction. The decision by the Bosnian Serbs to comply with the ultimatum issued by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and withdraw or put under United Nations control their heavy weapons around Sarajevo was one such step. The 9 February cease-fire agreement between the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serbs, and the cease-fire in central Bosnia, were others. Finally, we are encouraged by the 1 March signing in Washington by the Governments of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Croatia, and representatives of the Bosnian Croat party, of a framework agreement for the establishment of a bicommunal federation in Bosnia and an outline of a preliminary agreement on establishment of a confederation between Bosnia and Croatia. We hope these agreements will provide the basis for a larger political settlement with the Bosnian Serbs.

Much remains to be done. As we said at the time the agreements were signed, they show how much can be accomplished, even after bitter years of violence, when two sides sit down together to reach an understanding. They also demonstrate that while negotiations will undoubtedly be difficult, they are possible. My Government expects the Bosnian parties to comply strictly with all these agreements.

Similarly, the United States urges all the parties in Bosnia to do whatever they can to facilitate the restoration of essential public services in and around Sarajevo. Peace in Bosnia will be built brick by brick. We hope that this resolution will be an important part of that effort.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* Let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am confident that with your wisdom, talent and rich diplomatic experience, you will provide excellent guidance for the success of our work. I also wish to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Olhaye, for his tireless efforts, which left a deep impression on us.

Recently, with the help of the international community, the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina have made efforts for the political settlement of their conflict. This has led to some relaxation of the situation in the war-ridden area. The agreements between the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Muslims on a cease-fire and the withdrawal of heavy weapons from the Sarajevo area have basically been implemented. The Bosnian Croats and the Bosnian Muslims have just signed a framework agreement in Washington. Progress has also been made in opening the Tuzla airport. We wish to say that we sincerely welcome these developments and hope that the parties to the conflict will earnestly implement the agreements already reached. The international community, including the United Nations, which has made a number of efforts in this regard, should encou ge them to continue to promote the peace process for a comprehensive political solution to the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The main purpose of the resolution just adopted is to improve the humanitarian situation in Sarajevo and to restore water, electricity and other essential public services there so as to reduce the suffering of the local people. On the basis of humanitarian considerations, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the resolution.

All along, China has advocated that conflicts should be settled by peaceful means through dialogue and negotiation and has opposed the use or threat of force. In our view, further military action in Bosnia and Herzegovina will make the situation there more complex, and might even endanger the ongoing diplomatic efforts of the parties concerned. We therefore have reservations on the invoking of Chapter VII of the Charter in this resolution.

We maintain that the establishment of safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina is only a temporary measure, and not a fundamental solution. When considering additional safe areas, it will be necessary to conduct a serious review of whether the expected results have been achieved in the safe areas already established and whether in the present circumstances the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has sufficient human and financial resources to perform additional tasks. Otherwise, it is highly possible that a decision made in haste could become a mere scrap of paper. This is something no one wishes to see.

The sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a State Member of the United Nations, should be respected by the international community. Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, should be maintained as a united city and a multicultural, multi-ethnic and pluri-religious centre. The final solution to the Sarajevo question depends on the comprehensive political settlement of the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We hope that through the efforts of various parties the humanitarian situation in Sarajevo will continue to be improved and that essential public services and the lives of the inhabitants will be restored to normal as soon as possible so as to help bring about a comprehensive political settlement of the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* It gives me pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I wish you success in this important post, and assure you of our readiness to cooperate with you in every way.

We are also grateful to your predecessor, the representative of Djibouti, Ambassador Olhaye, for his able and effective leadership of the work of the Council in February.

The Russian delegation joined co-sponsored the draft resolution submitted by France, because its provisions are consonant with the consistent position of Russia, which sees the normalization of the situation in Sarajevo and the other safe areas as a step towards an overall settlement in Bosnia

and Herzegovina. Our priorities have always included the restoration of peaceful conditions in Sarajevo and other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the solution of humanitarian problems in that regard. That is why the Russian Federation decided to send a Russian contingent to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the Sarajevo area in response to the appeal of the Secretary-General and in accordance with decisions of the Security Council.

Now that the direct threat of artillery shelling of the city has been removed, it is essential to take a new step towards strengthening peaceful conditions in the Bosnian capital and, by restoring public services in Sarajevo, to ease the lot of the long-suffering population of that city.

We clearly realize that the positive developments in and around Sarajevo constitute but the first step along the road to the re-establishment of peace and security throughout the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of an agreement to be reached through a negotiated settlement involving all three parties to the conflict. The Russian Federation desires serious talks with all the interested parties as regards Sarajevo and also other safe areas, and also as regards a Bosnian settlement as a whole. The final objective of that process would be to prepare carefully tested and verified proposals for a comprehensive unblocking of the Bosnian conflict that could be approved by leading States at the highest level, with the participation of the United Nations. That is the aim of the initiative of the President of the Russian Federation, Mr. Yeltsin.

We are convinced that there is now a need for concerted, careful work. The study of approaches and agreements on concrete recommendations could be carried out both within the framework of the United Nations and through bilateral channels.

We note with satisfaction that during the process of reaching agreement on the draft resolution adopted today there prevailed a spirit of partnership and concertation of action. We hope that our positive interaction with our partners in the Security Council on this issue will be further developed now that the process of settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina is entering a highly responsible stage.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): Let me extend my warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Council. Our work this month will greatly benefit from your well-known professional skills and personal qualities. You can count on the full cooperation and support of my delegation.

May I also express the deep gratitude of the delegation of Brazil for the admirable way in which Ambassador Roble Olhaye of Djibouti conducted our work during the month of February. Thanks to the adroit way in which he presided over the Council, February was a very productive period of activity for the Council.

Resolution 900 (1994), which we have just adopted, represents another effort by the Security Council to lessen the suffering of the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to promote conditions for the attainment of an overall political settlement.

Brazil is encouraged by the agreements between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and between the Bosnian Serb party and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on a cease-fire and measures related to heavy weapons in and around Sarajevo. It is our expectation that this first and, hopefully, irreversible step may spread throughout other parts of the country, bringing about the restoration of peace and security to the entire region. Brazil calls upon all the parties to continue their endeavours in this regard. In this connection, we also welcome the framework agreement reached between the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Croat party in Washington. The reopening of the airport at Tuzla in the near future for relief flights will be another encouraging sign of positive movements by the parties concerned.

We are aware that much remains to be done. The situation in Mostar, Vitez and Maglaj continues to be a cause for deep concern. The siege of Sarajevo should be effectively lifted in order to allow for the restoration of normal conditions of life and security to the population. In this respect, all parties must facilitate the unhindered flow of humanitarian assistance, including the provision of food, water, electricity, fuel and communications in the capital city as well as in all other areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In resolution 900 (1994) the Security Council requests the Secretary-General to appoint a senior civilian official to draw up an overall assessment and plan of action for the restoration of essential public services in Sarajevo. We

shall be looking forward to considering the report to be presented by the Secretary-General in the near future concerning ways and means for the implementation of the plan of action.

Resolution 900 (1994) was the fruit of an intensive process of negotiation within the Council, and we praise the spirit of mutual accommodation that made possible its unanimous adoption. Nevertheless, the international community should not lose sight of the difficulties that still lie ahead for the full implementation of decisions taken today and on previous occasions. This new and crucial phase we are entering should be handled with great care and attention in order that the window of opportunity for attaining lasting peace not be closed. It is essential that the international community continue to encourage the parties to pursue a fair and practical agreement which would be acceptable to all of them and could put an end to this appalling conflict. Any such solution should take into account the legitimate interests, and ensure the protection of the basic rights, of all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): Like my colleagues, I wish to welcome you, Sir, as President of the Security Council. We congratulate you on your assumption of the office and look forward to supporting you and all your endeavours this month.

I also extend my delegation's appreciation and thanks to the Ambassador of Djibouti, your predecessor, who presided over the Council last month. My delegation was greatly impressed by the way in which he and his delegation contributed to the Council's achievements.

When the Security Council debated the consequences of the attack on the market in Sarajevo, three weeks ago, I said that New Zealand fully supported the actions taken by the Secretary-General and Member States, acting through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in the execution of the Council's mandate to protect the safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We noted that the United Nations had reached a turning point in the Bosnian conflict. So it has proved.

The events of the last three weeks have demonstrated that with a mixture of appropriate resolve and effective diplomacy the international community is able to bring about a change in the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The silencing of the guns which had bombarded Sarajevo for 22 months is the first product of that resolve. The citizens of Sarajevo can, with increasing confidence, start to rebuild their lives and go about their daily business without fear of sudden and random violence.

But this is only the beginning of a process to reconstruct Sarajevo and Bosnia. The draft resolution on which we have just voted, and which New Zealand fully supports, moves us farther along that path.

First, it sets out plainly the determination of the United Nations that the cessation of bombardment of civilian targets must now be complemented by the restoration of public services to that city. The citizens of Sarajevo must not have to wonder daily whether and for how long the supply of gas, water and electricity will last. The basic services which have been denied to much of the city's population must be restored. This resolution sets out a process by which the United Nations can assist the Bosnian authorities to undertake this work.

It is imperative that action get under way immediately and that all parties concerned support the fundamental objective: the restoration of civilized life to the capital of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The free movement of people and of humanitarian relief in and out of Sarajevo must be permitted. The restoration of public services must be facilitated.

Secondly, the resolution points to the need to make similar progress in the other safe areas in Bosnia - those named in earlier resolutions, and the three cities, Mostar, Vitez and Maglaj, on which the Secretary-General is asked to report. Their circumstances are different, but their plight is horrifyingly common. Recent reports suggest that the hideous practice of "ethnic cleansing" still continues behind the front lines. It must cease.

New Zealand supports the extending of the application of the concept of safe areas to these three places. They, and all safe areas, must be able to enjoy protection from attack; refugees and displaced persons must be able to return; the appalling conditions in which the citizens of the safe areas have had to survive must be brought to an end; and political and military interference with humanitarian convoys must stop.

This resolution also notes other developments which we believe will contribute to the alleviation of suffering and the peaceful settlement of the conflict. In particular, we

welcome the recent agreement reached in Washington between the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Croat party. It too is a further turning point. The momentum it has created must be maintained.

We believe that it is important to remember that the establishment of safe areas is not an end in itself. But the measures embodied in this resolution will, in the view of my Government, contribute to creating an environment in which peace can return to the whole Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the war be brought to an end.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of New Zealand for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of France.

My Government welcomes the resolution that the Council has just adopted. It was indeed essential for the Security Council, after the establishment of a cease-fire and the withdrawal of heavy weapons or their turning over to the control of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), to decide to consolidate the gains won in Sarajevo thanks to the firm stand taken by the international community.

This resolution, focussed on specific measures designed to restore normal life in Sarajevo - measures that I will elaborate on later - is part of the wider context of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and of initiatives to spur the peace process forward. It was indeed important, in my Government's view, not to isolate the steps taken for the benefit of Sarajevo from other steps regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The resolution thus recalls the measures adopted in and around Sarajevo under resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993), which made it possible to secure the withdrawal of heavy weapons. It also recalls the goals set for relieving UNPROFOR personnel in Srebrenica and for the reopening of the Tuzla airport. It marks the Council's concern at the stark situation in Magaj, Mostar and Vitez, and requests the Secretary-General to report on the possible extension to these cities of the protection envisaged under resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993). Finally, it welcomes recent developments in the peace negotiations among the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Croats of Bosnia and the Government of the Republic of Croatia.

At this point, I should like to emphasize the measures decided upon under the resolution for Sarajevo.

To ensure that city's return to normal, the parties are asked, with the help of the United Nations, to bring about the total freedom of movement for the civilian population and for humanitarian goods, and to lift any and all impediment to this freedom of movement. This is an essential demand which will have to be met if a swift end is to be put to the sufferings so unjustly imposed, for nearly two years now, on the people of Sarajevo.

From a practical point of view, the resolution requests the Secretary-General to appoint a senior official who, in liaison with the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the authority of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, will carry out an evaluation and work out a programme for restoring essential public services. This official will be invested with the power to assist the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to ensure implementation of the plan in close coordination with the local authorities concerned.

This decision, for my delegation, constitutes a very important measure. On the one hand, the steps designed to restore public services for the benefit of the people of Sarajevo, in terms of how they are defined and how they are to be implemented, will be centrally directed so as to achieve maximum efficacy. On the other hand, the work of the official appointed by the Secretary-General without violating the sovereignty of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, will, at the local level, be done together with all those concerned.

I should like to stress, moreover, that we have adopted this resolution under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, as the other resolutions on Bosnia and Herzegovina have been since August 1992. In this context, not to have resorted to Chapter VII would for the parties have been the worst of signals, at the very time when the international community has just successfully demonstrated its determination to bring about a halt to the bombing of Sarajevo. Beyond that, application of Chapter VII, which does not imply an automatic resorting to force, will give UNPROFOR the authority it needs to surmount the obstacles that might be placed in the way of the execution of its mandate.

In conclusion, I wish to state that my Government will spare no pains to ensure the successful implementation of this resolution.

As I have already said, the measures decided on for Sarajevo fit into the wider context of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and of initiatives aimed at advancing the peace process. My Government thus intends to pursue its efforts to bring about a comprehensive political settlement, together with the other countries of the European Union and in coordination with the other Governments committed to and involved in the quest for peace.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There being no further names on my list of speakers, the Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 8.05 p.m.